

STEELWORKERS STRIKE BACK • AN AMERICAN NAZI

In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

October 3, 1999

¡VIEQUES LIBRE!

PUERTO RICO

WANTS THE U.S. NAVY TO

GET OUT

JUAN GONZALEZ
REPORTS



\$2.50 Canada \$3.50

LICENSED.TO.UNZ.ORG

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLUS: IS ANOTHER
INNOCENT MAN SITTING
ON ILLINOIS' DEATH ROW?



Is this the Face of a Raving, Unconfined Nut?

When *Life* magazine published a favorable profile of Paul Krassner, the FBI sent a poison-pen letter to the editor, calling Krassner "a raving, unconfined nut."

"The FBI was right," says George Carlin. "This man is dangerous—and funny; and necessary."

Naturally, Krassner named his memoir *Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut: Misadventures in the Counter-Culture*, available from the author for \$25.

"Krassner is one of the best minds of his generation to be destroyed by madness, starving, hysterical, naked—but mainly hysterical. His true wacky, wackily true autobiography is the definitive book on the '60s."

—Art Spiegelman,
Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Maus*

Also Available: *The Winner of the Slow Bicycle Race: The Satirical Writings of Paul Krassner*, with a foreword by Kurt Vonnegut, \$24

Krassner still publishes *The Realist*, an irreverent newsletter of social and political satire. A subscription to the final six issues is \$12, beginning with the current issue, which features:

- Anita Hoffman and the Blow-Up Doll: Death of a Yippie
- President Clinton's Private Confession
- An Exclusive Report on the First World Pornography Conference
- Larry Flynt's Great Wedding Secret
- The Parts Left Out of Mr. Mike, the Biography of Michael O'Donoghue
- The Faux Millennium
- Tom Tomorrow's cartoon strip that was censored by Brill's Content

**The Realist, Dept. ITT
Box 1230, Venice, CA 90294**

Enclosed please find:

- ☐ \$25 for *Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut: Misadventures in the Counter-Culture*
- ☐ \$12 for a subscription to the final six issues of *The Realist*
- ☐ \$24 for *The Winner of the Slow Bicycle Race: The Satirical Writings of Paul Krassner*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

"... with liberty and justice for all"

James Weinstein
Founding Editor and Publisher

Editor: Joel Bleifuss

Managing Editor: Craig Aaron

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

Culture Editor: Joe Knowles

News Editor: Kristin Kolb

Contributing Editors: Linda DeLibero, Barbara Ehrenreich, Laura Flanders, Annette Fuentes, David Futrelle, Juan Gonzalez, Miles Harvey, Doug Ireland, Diana Johnstone, Pete Karman, Chris Lehmann, Scott McLemee, Dave Mulcahey, Jeffrey St. Clair, Jane Slaughter, Fred Weir, G. Pascal Zachary

Proofreaders: George Hodak, Norman Wishner

Interns: James Sandrolini, Jim Veverka

Art Director: Jim Rinnert

Assistant Art Director: Steve Anderson

Illustrator: Terry LaBan

Publisher: Beth Schulman

Associate Publisher: Patricia Gray

Circulation Manager: Christopher Becker

In These Times (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 23, No. 22) went to press on Sept. 3, for newsstand sales Sept. 19 to Oct. 3, 1999.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1999 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Contact the union at (212) 254-0279 or <http://www.nwu.org>.

Subscriptions are \$36.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). Call (800) 827-0270.

All correspondence should be sent to: 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. E-mail: itt@inthesetimes.com.

Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the magazine. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

For back issues and advertising rates, call toll free (888) READ-ITT. Available back issues are \$3 each, \$5 each overseas. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Newsstand circulation through the IPA International Sales Cooperative. For more information call (415) 447-4284, fax (415) 447-4281, or e-mail moneka@bigtoppubs.com.

2 Letters

3 Editorial

4 News

East Timor's independence vote, a congressional visit to Iraq and Las Vegas vs. Wal-Mart.

6 Appall-o-Meter By David Futrelle

8 Viewpoint By A. Rice

Turkey's earthquake shakeup.

9 The Flanders Files By Laura Flanders

Keeping the public in schools.

10 Striking Back

By David Moberg

The Steelworkers won't let up.

13 ¡Vieques Libre!

By Juan Gonzalez

Puerto Rico wants the U.S. Navy to get out.

16 Justice Denied

By Kari Lydersen

Is another innocent man sitting on Death Row?

19 The Master Baiter

By Scott McLemee

George Lincoln Rockwell, *American Fuhrer*.

20 Precious Bodily Fluids

By Paul Krassner

"The Commander" is getting vicious.

23 Flee Enterprise

By Phyllis Eckhaus

Riding the underground railroad.

25 The Corporate Gallery

By J.D. Smith

Modern art in the big box.

30 My Name Is Ken

By Jane Slaughter

An interview with director Ken Loach.



Letters

Next on the Menu

I guess I've been having dioxin for dinner for six decades in regularly increasing doses ("Dioxin: It's What's for Dinner!" Aug. 22). So I may as well accept my fate and continue to live without the effects of paranoia. We should remember that death follows birth, so it is logical to say that eliminating birth will eliminate death. I don't know too many folks who accept that philosophy, but I do know a few who have decided not to waste their time worrying about the long-term effects of the latest crisis in the environment. Most of them seem to be pretty sensible as well.

Bill Kelly
Northfield, Minn.

Imperialism Defined

Paul Hockenos tells us that "NATO's military operation against Yugoslavia was no imperialistic war," apparently based on the alleged fact that no "new empires nor colonial outposts" were constructed ("What Kind of Kosovo?" Aug. 22). This narrow construction of "imperialism" is a form of apologetics for U.S. and NATO policy, excluding from the definition the imperialism of free trade and loans as well as the use of force to bully states that stand in the way of the Godfather and his allies. Even in the application of his apologetic language, Hockenos seems unaware that "new empires" and "colonial outposts" can be created by destroying states like Yugoslavia and putting in place more amenable entities in the wreckage.

And if NATO's was not an imperialistic venture, presumably Hockenos believes that Clinton and Blair were actually engaged in a "humanitarian intervention," another benevolent endeavor that once again inadvertently turned "an internal humanitarian problem into a disaster" (in the words of Rollie Keith, the Canadian OSCE human rights monitor in Kosovo).

Hockenos also tells us that "the United Nations will have the final word," ignoring the fact that it was shunted aside when the United States and NATO wanted to fight and that it remains an organization that can only do what the dominant powers allow it to do. It does not have the "final word."

Should *In These Times* be giving us an analysis that could have come from the pen of Thomas Friedman?

Edward S. Herman
Penn Valley, Pa.

Brothers' Keepers

Two articles in the Aug. 22 issue, the editorial "New World Order" and "Africa is Dying," are the very best of what a left-of-center journal should be all about. These articles, by Joel Bleifuss and Salim Muwakkil, describe the hellish lives of hundreds of millions of the poorest people in the world today.

Often the left in our country is so caught up with the inequalities and injustices in the United States that we tend to neglect the much more horrific conditions faced by people in the so-called developing world. We need to re-embrace the old philosophy of "inter-

nationalism," remembering that we are all brothers and sisters on this planet and commit ourselves to the struggle against the poverty, injustices and other hellish conditions in which much of the world's population is forced to live.

Richard Shore
Bronx, N.Y.

Auto Addicts

I strongly disagree with James B. Goodno's statement that "despite an efficient and comfortable commuter rail service, which serves four of the nine Bay Area counties, most residents are victimized by a poor combination of land-use and transportation planning" ("Gridlocked," Aug. 8).

What most residents are victimized by is their severe addiction (especially in California) to being behind the steering wheel of the vehicle in which they are riding.

Until thoughtful people like Goodno begin to confront the problem of auto addiction—a disease much more costly than any other addiction in our society—solutions to the troubles they address will be at best only palliative.

Lester Goldstein
Seattle

Please send letters to:

IN THESE TIMES

2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.

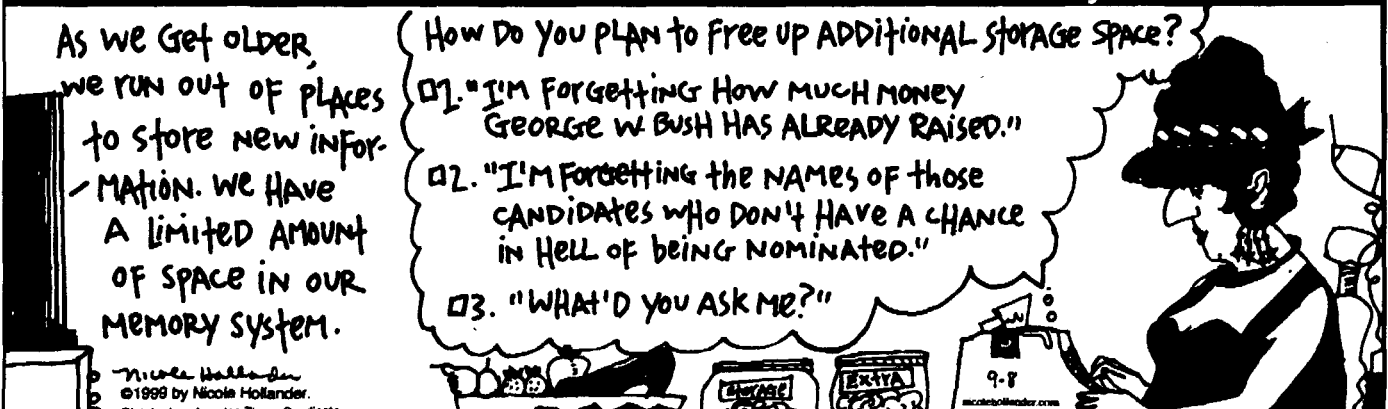
Chicago, IL 60647

Or e-mail: itt@inthesetimes.com

Please keep your letter short and include your address and daytime phone number.

SYLVIA

By Nicole Hollander



School's Out

In January 1961, almost exactly two years after Fidel Castro marched into Havana and overthrew the Batista dictatorship, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Treasury Secretary Robert Anderson briefed the incoming president, John F. Kennedy. "Large amounts of U.S. capital," Anderson said, "[were] planned for investment in Latin America." But the investors were holding back, "waiting to see whether or not we can cope with the Cuban situation." Just in case Kennedy didn't get the message, Eisenhower added: "We cannot let the present government there go on."

Eisenhower was not just giving an opinion. He was already experienced in overthrowing governments of sovereign nations that threatened U.S. corporate interests. Eight years earlier in 1953, he had ordered the CIA to topple Premier Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran—after Mossadegh had nationalized British- and American-owned oil companies. And in 1954, he had ordered the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman's democratically elected government in Guatemala—because Arbenz had distributed United Fruit Company land to dispossessed peasants. Eisenhower also was training more than a thousand Cuban exiles in Guatemala to overthrow Castro. That effort, the Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961, failed, to Kennedy's great embarrassment.

This was an important lesson. It's OK, Kennedy reasoned, to overthrow recognized leaders and governments of countries that threaten the sanctity of American capital, but not in the light of day. So after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy—while continuing his efforts to get rid of Castro with a series of secret assassination attempts—pursued another path.

Kennedy and his advisers decided to train others to secretly do our dirty work. The young president proposed in September 1961 to establish "police academies" to teach the Latins "how to control mobs and fight guerrillas." Kennedy wanted to increase "the intimacy between our armed forces and the military of Latin America."

Three months later, Kennedy ordered Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to set up the first of these secret facilities on U.S. Army property in the Panama Canal Zone. Its task: to train South and Central American police forces in riot control, intelligence and interrogation techniques. "We're going to get control of the streets away from the Communists down there," said first brother Robert Kennedy, the most enthusiastic supporter of the new schools.

Thus the seeds were planted for the School of the Americas, which for the past 38 years has cultivated the intimate relations that Kennedy desired between our armed forces and those of Latin America and the

Caribbean. The results have been no secret to those who cared to know, but they mostly had been kept from the public until August, when the *New York Times* reported on a lawsuit in Paraguay that produced five tons of reports and photos detailing the arrests, interrogations and disappearances of thousands of political prisoners during Gen. Alfredo Stroessner's 35-year dictatorship of that unhappy country.

These documents trace the activities of Operation Condor, a secret plan of the security forces in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia to crush left-wing political dissent. The plan formalized and deepened cooperation among police and military forces in these six countries. And it tied these generals closer to Washington, which provided much of the funding for their operations. Among other things, Operation Condor allowed security officers to take part in joint interrogations, pursue people across borders and order surveillance on citizens who sought asylum in other countries.

Like the state-sponsored terrorists in Haiti, the genocidal generals in Guatemala and the leaders of El Salvador's death squads, most of the officers involved in Operation Condor were trained at the School of the Americas, either in Panama or at Fort Benning in Georgia. During the Cold War, the rationale for their training was that the

In almost every instance, these U.S.-trained assassins attacked indigenous insurgencies and those calling for democracy or labor rights.

citizens they eliminated were agents of Moscow. In fact, in almost every instance, these U.S.-trained assassins used what the *Times* termed the "club of anti-communism" to attack indigenous insurgencies and to "snuff out" any calls for democracy or labor rights.

For a decade or so, progressive members of Congress, led by former Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-Mass.), have tried to shut down the School of the Americas. Support for this effort grew slowly each year. Last month, the House voted to eliminate funding in the \$12.7 billion foreign aid bill for the training of foreign officers at the school, effectively closing it down. This funding cut, however, is not in the Senate bill, which means the school may survive in the conference to iron out the differences between the two chambers.

Call your senator to help preserve this rare victory for human rights. ■

James Weinstein

Casting Stones and Ballots

By Kristin Kolb

After 24 years of occupation, East Timor has a chance to be free. In 1975, Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony, killing tens of thousands of people in a matter of days. More than 200,000 people—a third of East Timor's population—died under former President Suharto's brutal regime, which was supported by U.S. military aid. But on Aug. 30, the East Timorese voted in a U.N.-organized referendum, choosing between independence or autonomous status as part of Indonesia. Since the vote, more violence has ensued. As *In These Times* went to press, pro-Jakarta militias were rampaging throughout the island, and the results of the vote were unclear.

In *These Times* spoke with Allie Epstein, a graduate student at the University of Illinois-Chicago, who worked as an election observer during the campaign. Epstein travelled to East Timor in August with the International Federation of East Timor, a clearinghouse for human rights groups.

What were you doing in East Timor?

Through IFET, about 120 people from nine different countries went to East Timor as nonpartisan vote observers. I lived with four other observers in a town called Same, near the southern coast of

Timor. We visited voter registration sites to learn how people felt as they waited in line and if they understood the process.

I met people who had been waiting in line for five days just to register. Some spent the night outside the polling site or on church grounds near the registration office. People were afraid. There had been massacres in the area, and they were taking a great risk by standing in line and being so visible.

Did you witness any militia attacks in Same?

On Aug. 6, pro-independence students attempted to set up an office in Same. But the militia took over their space and they escaped to a Catholic elementary school. By the next morning, the militia's numbers had grown and their threats had increased. At about 7 a.m., the students and some refugees who had been staying on the church grounds hid in a storage shed. I was at the registration site in a middle school even further inside the church grounds. At about 10:30 a.m., the militia stormed the shed and cut an older man with a machete. He was severely injured, along with a young woman who tried to defend him. Then at least 60 people scrambled

up a path and fanned out across the soccer field. The militia were chasing them and throwing rocks. The militia banged on the school windows and doors. They yelled, "We are going to kill you all. 1975 will happen again."

They surrounded the school and people crowded into the voter registration room. The police were no more than a hundred yards away. They slowly walked over to the militia and gently guided them to the road. They exchanged friendly words and then allowed the militia to go free. A few minutes later, we saw the injured man flanked by two nuns walking across the field toward us. The nuns' white habits were covered with blood.

For the rest of the day, we watched militia troops armed with machetes and homemade guns marching up and down past the school—right past the police—and nothing was done to stop them.

When I hear that 99 percent of East Timor voted, I'm amazed. Even with such fear, people took the risk to cast their votes.

Who is in the militias?

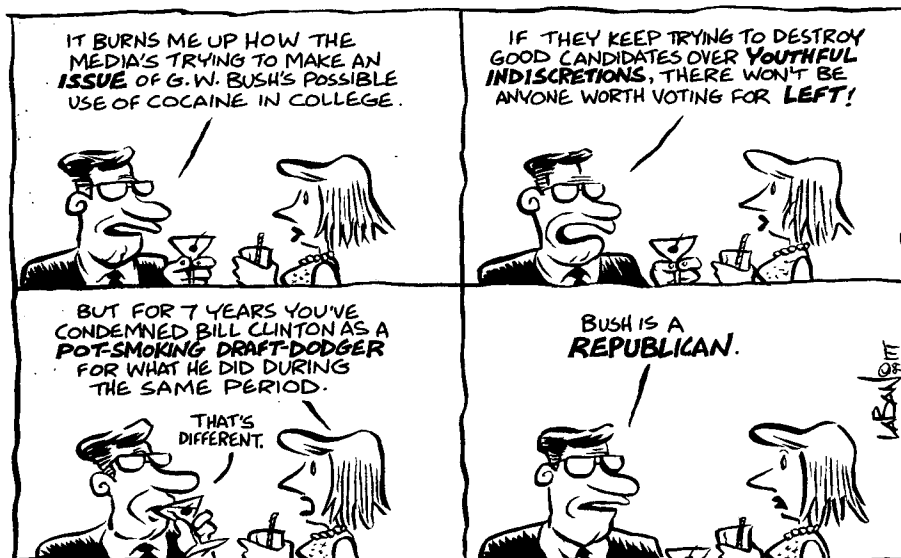
Some members have collaborated with Indonesia since the invasion in 1975. But the majority is forced to join. To recruit new members, they often invade people's homes and threaten, "Give us all your young men or we'll burn your house down." Some are also bribed. Poverty is so great in East Timor that the offer of 10 chickens and all the rice your family needs is enough to join. Often they prey on people who don't have a place in society. They convince them that the pro-independence supporters are out to kill them.

Some people are predicting that the militias will try to take over East Timor now that the vote is over. What do you think will happen?

There will clearly be a group that remains violent. I saw militia members wearing T-shirts that read, "Vote for autonomy and avoid bloodshed. Vote for independence and there will be a river of blood."

You have to wonder, where do the militias get their hats and T-shirts? Where do they get their automatic weapons? Where do they get their vehicles? How are they fed? All of this is coming from the military. Once that system is gone, they just are not going to have the resources to continue. ■

Terry LaBan



State of Denial

By Terry J. Allen

The State Department's effort to discourage a group of congressional aides from making a fact-finding trip to Iraq "is an outrageous and egregious form of censorship," says Carl LeVan, legislative director for Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.).

Citing danger from "friendly fire" and anti-American sentiments, the State Department refused to validate the delegation's passports for travel to Iraq. "The State Department has been using every possible means to discourage the fact-finding mission, including threats of prosecution not based on sound law," says Phyllis Bennis, an organizer of the trip and a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, a progressive Washington think tank.

In defiance, the five staffers from the offices of Reps. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), Earl Hilliard (D-Ala.), Cynthia McKinney (D-Ga.), Danny Davis (D-Ill.) and Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) left on Aug. 27 for five days in Iraq. This was the first congressional trip to Iraq in nine years and the first ever to examine the effects of sanctions on the population there.

In addition to sanctions, the United States imposes restrictions on travel by U.S. citizens to Iraq. According to an official in the State Department's Office of Consular Affairs, the delegation's request for passport validation "was denied because it was deemed not to fall under narrowly defined exceptions." The department only approves visits to Iraq for journalists, Red Cross workers, humanitarian considerations such as a family crisis, and travel in the national interest.

In a letter to National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, the delegation cited national interest among its reasons for making the trip. Its purpose, reads the letter, is to "examine the effect of economic sanctions in Iraq on the civilian population, governmental policy, and U.S. economic and strategic interests."

By denying the request, the executive branch of government was in effect telling the legislative branch how and

what it could investigate, what risks it could assume, and what is in the national interest. "There is no question that it is a violation of separation of powers to tell Congress people what they can and cannot investigate," Hilliard says. "I have found State lacking in candor and good information and sometimes [to provide] outright false information."

Hilliard, who sits on the House International Relations Committee, cites the State Department's role in spreading

She also noted, "It is, of course, our concern for the safety of American citizens that led the department to prohibit the use of U.S. passports."

LeVan called that assessment "crazy." But he gave some credence to a different safety concern. Officials from State and the CIA told the delegates that their overland route might expose them to "friendly fire" from U.S. bombing raids. "I asked how they knew the proposed route," says LeVan, who pointed out that the group planned to avoid the no-fly zone. In any case, he says, "The no-fly zone doesn't apply any more. The U.S. is bombing wherever it wants."

Even the mainstream media—which usually confine their reporting to



Phyllis Bennis (right) and other delegation members visit a hospital in Amar, Iraq.

false or misleading information about Nelson Mandela in South Africa and Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti. "Congress has to have good information to make good decisions," he adds, "I don't trust the information I get from State."

McKinney was similarly skeptical. "If we left decisions about congressional travel to State," she says, "we wouldn't be able to travel anywhere where we might discover possible fault in our policies."

The State Department mounted various arguments against the trip. In a letter to Hilliard, assistant secretary of legislative affairs Barbara Larkin insisted that no additional information about "humanitarian conditions" in Iraq is necessary since "there is a wealth of reliable information available from the U.N."

Pentagon press releases on U.S. "defensive actions"—is noting the extent of bombing and warning of escalation. "American and British pilots are engaged in combat [in Iraq], and by any definition that you and I know, that's war," says *New York Times* reporter Steven Lee Myers. "Some people call it low-level war, slow-motion war, but it's still war. It's only when you look back over eight months that you realize the scale of the bombing. We've flown more than 20,000 missions, both combat strike missions and support missions, over northern and southern Iraq in that time. That's two-thirds as many as we flew against Yugoslavia during the war in Kosovo, which, of course, you know, got much more attention."

In the past eight months, there have been 1,100 missiles fired on 359 targets in Iraq. The Pentagon has estimated the current cost at more than \$1 billion a year and has devoted more than 200 aircraft, 19 warships and 22,000 American troops to the war.

According to the *New York Times*, the administration is debating whether to step up its attacks and expand the list of targets from air defense installations to more significant military sites like bases and headquarters.

It was against this backdrop that the delegation arrived in Iraq, but not before it faced one more insult from the State Department. Because of sanctions, there are no flights into the country. So the group flew into Jordan before setting out on the 10-hour drive across the desert to Baghdad. When the aides landed in Amman, the U.S. Embassy, contrary to custom, pointedly ignored their arrival.

Once in Baghdad, the aides toured hospitals and a bomb shelter in which the Iraqi government says 403 people died during the Gulf War. They also

traveled to Basra to investigate U.N. reports of a marked increase in congenital deformities and childhood cancers. Doctors have speculated that these problems result from exposure to depleted uranium ammunition used extensively by U.S. forces during the war. The dense armor-piercing shells—which explode after impact, releasing radioactive particles—have also been linked to so-called Gulf War Syndrome, the illness found among allied soldiers who were deployed in the Gulf.

Scott Southward, a spokesman for McKinney's office, stressed the importance of assessing the impact of sanctions. "You can't put all the blame on [Saddam Hussein]," he says. "We have control and if the present policy is not working, we need to evaluate it."

If the intent of nine years of sanctions was to enforce international monitoring of Iraqi weapons facilities or to make the population so miserable it would rise up and overthrow Hussein, then the policy clearly is not working. Meanwhile, the civilian population has been trapped

between an internal dictatorship and an external campaign of economic and military punishment. The scale of suffering is enormous. UNICEF officials estimate that each month as many as 6,000 Iraqi children under the age of five die of malnutrition and various curable diseases. The sanctions are a key factor in that toll.

If the delegation concludes that sanctions have caused great human suffering, the trip will expose an inescapable contradiction in U.S. foreign policy. The Clinton administration claims it fought a humanitarian war in Yugoslavia to prevent human misery, while at the same time it pursues a campaign against Iraq that causes civilian suffering on a catastrophic scale. "It became clear that they don't want Congress to have independent information," Bennis says. "This delegation is doing government business. State has no right to tell Congress what its business is or isn't. In the end, the Congress members decided they had not only the right, but the duty to go." ■

Terry J. Allen is a Vermont-based journalist.



Appalo-Meter

By David Futrelle

Kangaroo Court [9.1]

Men don't beat their wives; they are driven to it by constant nagging. At least that's the view of one Australian judge recently quoted in Australia's *Daily Telegraph*. The real culprit in domestic violence is women "nagging, bitching and emotionally hurting men. ... Men cannot bitch back for hormonal reasons and often have no recourse but violence," the judge told a New South Wales judicial commission survey. The New South Wales minister for women quickly declared the comments "pathetic" and "child-like."

A Star is Banned [8.1]

A Mississippi school board tried to teach its students a rather unusual lesson about freedom of religion: It doesn't apply if you're Jewish. At least that seemed to be the message sent by the Gulfport,

Miss., School Board when it prohibited an eleventh-grade Harrison Central High School student from wearing a Star of David because it might have been mistaken for a gang symbol. "This is not a religious issue," a spokesman for the Harrison County Sheriff told the press. "This is a safety issue." After an unusual coalition—comprising, among others, both Pat Robertson and the ACLU—protested the move, the board decided to reconsider.

Shoe 'nuff [6.8]

Imelda Marcos fans can rest easy now: she's got her shoes back—and then some. In a recent press conference to announce the publication of several new books by her supporters, Imelda happily announced that she now had more shoes than when she was forced to leave the Philippines in disgrace, shoeless. "There

are a lot of shoes been given me because they know that [former president] Cory Aquino deprived me of my shoes," she told the assembled press. "I don't know if it's 3,000 ... but I wouldn't be surprised if I will be able to build another museum."

Though proud of her footwear, Imelda is still a bit annoyed at the press for focusing so much attention on them. "They didn't look at my face," she complained. "They didn't look at my hands and what I did for the country. ... they looked down at my feet."



TERRY LABAN

Las Vegas vs. Wal-Mart

By Geoff Schumacher

LAS VEGAS

Thirty million tourists a year spend their vacations ensconced in the fantasy-themed resorts lining the Las Vegas Strip, few venturing beyond the neon-drenched gambling corridor. Many don't realize, or don't really care, that 1.3 million people now call the Las Vegas Valley home.

Not everyone is oblivious to the desert city's fast-growing suburban sprawl. Big retailers are flocking to Las Vegas, snapping up vast parcels and throwing up concrete monuments to conspicuous consumption. Wal-Mart, the biggest of the big, recently announced plans to build three 200,000-square-foot "supercenters" in the area to complement the seven standard Wal-Mart stores and two Sam's Club warehouses it already operates here. Wal-Mart, the nation's largest private employer with close to 800,000 "associates," plans to open 200 new stores—150 of them supercenters—this year. (Supercenters, covering as much as 230,000 square feet, combine the traditional discount stores with full-service supermarkets.)

But Wal-Mart is running into problems in Las Vegas. The United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local 711, which has contracts with all the major grocery chains in Las Vegas and 7,000 members in the area, is planning a massive campaign to keep fiercely nonunion Wal-Mart out of the local grocery market. The union fears that Wal-Mart will grab market share from union supermarket chains, as well as hamper the union's ability to bargain for higher wages and better benefits. After one year, UFCW checkers in Las Vegas make \$14.38 an hour, while meat cutters earn \$17.54 an hour after a two-year apprenticeship. By contrast, Wal-Mart employees start between \$6 and \$7 per hour, and 30 percent of them work part time.

The UFCW has given up trying to bring Wal-Mart workers into the union fold. Instead, the union is joining forces with small businesses and neighborhood organizers to condemn

Wal-Mart's impact on the community as a whole.

Although Wal-Mart has already received basic zoning approval for the three supercenters, the UFCW has a trick up its sleeve. At the union's urging, Clark County Commissioner Erin Kenny has proposed an ordinance that would thwart Wal-Mart's plans. Under the proposal, a store of more than 100,000 square feet that devotes more than 2,000 square feet to groceries would have to house the general merchandise and food in separate buildings.

Ostensibly, the ordinance is aimed at reducing traffic congestion caused by the arrival of one giant store in a neighborhood. But the way it's written, only Wal-Mart would be effected. "This would be a deal-killer for a supercenter," says UFCW President Roberta West, who is meeting with area city leaders to encourage them to impose similar ordinances. This approach has been used successfully in California cities, West says, and a similar ordinance is under consideration in Tucson, Ariz.

The UFCW is likely to call on the politically powerful Culinary Union for support and organizing assistance. In addition, its campaign could attract the attention of AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, who has repeatedly proclaimed Las Vegas the nation's "hottest union city."

Bucking national trends, labor has achieved considerable growth in Las Vegas in the '90s. The 47,000-member Culinary Union Local 226, the largest local of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union (HERE), waged a five-year strike at the Frontier Hotel—one of the nation's longest work stoppages—finally winning the battle in October when anti-union owner Margaret Elardi sold the property to union-friendly Phil Ruffin.

In December, the Service Employees International Union Local 1107 won an election to organize more than 2,000 nurses, technicians and other

workers at Columbia-HCA's Sunrise Hospital, the city's largest. And this summer, the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers Local 162 reached a four-year deal with two large roofing companies, signaling a resurgence of labor's clout in Las Vegas' vibrant residential construction industry.

But a campaign against Wal-Mart will be particularly difficult. For 20 years, residents and small-business owners across the country have fought to keep the discount retail giant from putting mom-and-pop stores out of business and turning downtown areas into boarded-up ghost towns. Wal-Mart has won most of the battles, growing into an international monolith that registered \$118 billion in sales in 1998.

Most of these fights, however, have occurred in rural areas and small cities, where the arrival of a supercenter can have a tangible impact on the community. Isn't a fast-growing metro area like Las Vegas a tougher place to make a case against Wal-Mart? "Businesses here have no idea what's going to happen to them," West says. "You can't compete with Wal-Mart, no matter how good you are." ■

Geoff Schumacher is managing editor of CityLife, Las Vegas' alternative newsweekly.

Etc.

Profit Motive

The gap between the rich and the rest of us keeps on growing, according to a new report by the Institute for Policy Studies and United for a Fair Economy.

The study compared the paychecks of factory workers with those of corporate executives at the 365 largest U.S. companies. From 1990 to 1998, the workers saw their wages rise 28 percent—on par with inflation—to \$29,267 a year. Meanwhile, salary packages for the executives rose 481 percent, from an average of \$1.8 million a year to \$10.6 million, including stock options. Welcome to the "global" economy.

Kristin Kolb

Earthquake Shakeup

August news reports provided plenty of coverage of the devastation in Turkey from the recent earthquake—and the failure of Turkish officials to respond quickly or to enforce building codes, which led to far greater destruction and loss of life. Turkey's lack of preparation seems inexplicable since it sits in one of the world's most active earthquake regions. Ultimately, the Turkish government's misplaced priorities are to blame for exacerbating the tragedy. But so are U.S. government policies.

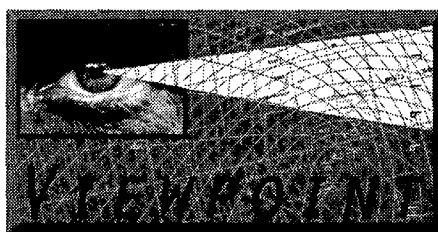
The United States long has regarded Turkey as a strategic ally. To that end, it has promoted the sale of tanks, Cobra helicopters and F-16s—but not the heavy earth-moving equipment that Turkey sorely needed to help locate and save those who were still alive under the debris. It has provided military training, but not training in disaster relief. The results are now all too obvious.

Several years ago, the CIA identified Turkey's as one of 15 governments most likely to fall, but this did not alter our foreign policy. Nor has any U.S. official given serious thought to how Turkey's lack of respect for human rights and the rule of law affect its internal stability. Lip service is paid through an annual State Department report of human rights violations, which are ignored as arms transfers continue.

The arming of Turkey lost some of its justification with the end of the Cold War. But in February 1995, the Clinton administration added an additional justification to its arms transfer policy: "enhance the ability of the U.S. defense industrial base to meet U.S. defense requirements and maintain long-term military technological superiority at lower costs." In turn, the administration promoted the sale to Turkey of ATACMS missiles with cluster-bomb warheads because the deal would benefit the Loral Corporation.

The electoral success in December 1995 of the Islamist Welfare Party (largely seen as a vote against corruption) did raise a few qualms in U.S. government circles, but these were allayed when the

Turkish military eventually forced the Islamists out. The recent confrontations with Greece over Cyprus, where Turkey spends hundreds of millions of dollars each year occupying the northern part of the island and subsidizing the Turkish Cypriot regime, registered low on the



administration's radar screen—as has Turkey's refusal to comply with any U.N. resolutions regarding Cyprus. Nor did the Susurluk scandal—which revealed the government's involvement with gangsters, assassins and drug smugglers—engender any doubts about the wisdom of U.S. policy.

Turkey's human rights performance remains abysmal. Domestic critics as well as the Kurds continue to suffer abuse. In May 1998, an attempt was made on the life of Akin Birdal, president of the Turkish Human Rights Association, wounding him seriously. Amnesty International blamed the Turkish authorities for the attack, because of the climate created by its persistent

efforts to discredit his group and the failure to investigate or condemn earlier fatal attacks on the association. Birdal has since been jailed for his human rights work.

Despite its substantial international debt (\$94 billion as of 1998), Turkey spends \$10 billion annually in the war against the Kurds. The capture of Abdullah Ocalan, head of the Kurdish rebel group PKK, earlier this year in Kenya, provided an excellent opportunity for Turkey to end the war in the southeast by negotiating a solution

that granted political and cultural rights to the Kurds. But the Turkish government did nothing and the United States refused to make such negotiations a condition for its assistance in catching Ocalan.

The "repentance law" passed in August is too small a step in the direction of human rights. The bill offers amnesty only to Kurdish rebels who were not involved in any armed operations. A second bill granting amnesty to prisoners in Turkish jails may lead to the release of rightist gunmen but not political prisoners.

It remains to be seen how current Turkish anger toward the government will play out. Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit lashed out at the "demoralizing coverage" of the earthquake's aftermath. One television station was closed down temporarily for criticizing the government's response to the quake. And the government barred Muslim groups, who normally fill the breach in providing relief for the weak and homeless, from helping quake victims because it feared losing political ground to Islamists.

The damage from the earthquake has not yet been realistically estimated, but it will be far more than Turkey can afford and much outside aid will be

The United States promoted the sale of tanks, Cobra helicopters and F-16s, but not the heavy earth-moving equipment Turkey sorely needed.

needed. Initially, the government planned to levy a quake tax on corporations and the wealthy, but a delay in the tax was announced the following day.

In late September, Ecevit is due in Washington for talks with President Clinton. The United States should insist that Turkey end its war against the Kurds, comply with U.N. resolutions on Cyprus and make a real commitment to protecting human rights. ■

A. Rice is a writer in the Washington area.

Keeping the Public in Schools

There was chaos in Cleveland on the first day of school. Late in August, a federal judge blocked that city's voucher program—the nation's first to spend taxes on sending children to religious schools. Judge Solomon Oliver Jr. halted the 4-year-old scheme, which involved 4,000 children, declaring it had “the primary effect of advancing religion.” Though in response to public outcry, he allowed the program to continue temporarily through the fall semester.

The advocates of private-school vouchers lost in Oliver's court, but I'd have to say they won a radio debate I hosted Aug. 26 on Pacifica's *Democracy Now!* Out came the familiar rhetoric: resonant civil rights-type talk about choice, opportunity, equality, freedom and individual rights. Then pseudo-populism: The president sends his kid to private school, so why should poor children languish? There's plenty of resentment out there, and the critics of public schools are good at aiming it at teachers' unions, anti-religious “bigots” and bureaucrats who want to keep good children back. The oratory is familiar because it's the same stuff we heard in the fight to end welfare and affirmative action, voiced by many of the same people.

Consider Clint Bolick, litigation director of the Institute for Justice, a libertarian law firm that wants to shrink government's right to intervene almost anywhere, including enforcing integration in workplaces or schools. Bolick argued in defense of the Ohio voucher program, and currently represents a group of parents fighting a religious restriction on publicly financed vouchers in Maine. With Kenneth Starr, he litigated the successful effort to expand a Milwaukee voucher program to cover religious schools in 1995. (A decision the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review last fall.) He was also one of three Washington advisers to California's anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 campaign, and one of the drafters of a comparable federal bill that's still floating around the Capitol.

This well-rehearsed rhetoric is not winning the public over yet. An

August Gallup Poll found that 70 percent still favor improving public schools over handing tax dollars to private ones. But voucher proponents are looking to the long term.

Who's behind the voucher movement? Predictable crusaders like



Milwaukee's Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, which bankrolls Bolick and made the landmark Milwaukee initiative possible; religious right activists who fancy a share of the taxpayer pie (Jerry Falwell once said: “I hope I live to see the day when, as in the early days of our country, we won't have any public schools”); and a business lobby that's investing in pro-voucher candidates and splashy scholarship funds to help turn public opinion around.

Last year saw the birth of the Children's Scholarship Fund (CSF), a program designed to work with local affiliates to disburse private-school grants direct to families via lotteries. Theodore J. Forstmann, a leveraged buyout investor, and Wal-Mart heir John T. Walton committed \$100 million between them to launch the CSF. Syndicated pundit Cal Thomas praised their largesse: “Forstmann and Walton have started what may turn out to be the greatest revolution in public education.”

Thomas didn't consider that the \$500 to \$600 grants given in some cities don't meet most private school fees. Nor did he contrast the charitable contributions with the movement's campaign giving. Walton has backed pro-voucher initiatives from California to the District of Columbia, as well as candidates in Milwaukee's school board

elections last April. Along with J. Patrick Rooney (a big pro-life, pro-voucher Republican Party funder), he also funneled lots of out-of-state money into Texas in 1998 to benefit, among others, Gov. George W. Bush.

Bush plans to make “school choice” a key presidential plank. Former Milwaukee schools Superintendent Howard Fuller is helping formulate his education program. Fuller, a national spokesman for vouchers, is “a longtime personal friend” of Bradley Foundation President Michael Joyce.

People For the American Way has pointed out that folks like Forstmann, Walton and their colleagues at CEO America (an Arkansas-based umbrella group that channels business contributions to private schools) have profit motives to match their philanthropic hearts. To those who take them off the government's hands, public schools could be as lucrative as prisons.

Critics are doing their best to raise concerns about educational accountability, religious indoctrination and the abandonment of kids who have no access

To those who take them off the government's hands, public schools could be as lucrative as prisons.

to private schools. It's easy to make the case: The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* revealed that local state-funded private schools go almost uninspected—one had no fire alarm or sprinkler system and was staffed “mostly by unlicensed teachers.” On day one of Florida's new voucher program, all four effected Catholic schools admitted that (despite the language of the law) voucher students would participate in organized prayer.

But rhetorically voucher-critics could use some help. A tip: There's nothing radical about “individual rights.” What's revolutionary is caring about a common good—that's what brought us public education in the first place. Advocates need to defend that concept at least as well as their foes damn it. ■

STRIKING The BACK Steelworkers By David Moberg Won't let up

There's a sign on the wall in the office of Steelworkers Union President George Becker that simply reads: "Escalate." It's a succinct summary of the veteran labor leader's strategy and a warning to corporations that try to break the union. "I have a very simple theory," Becker explains. "Nothing stands still. You're either moving ahead or moving behind. If you're in struggle and not getting results, you have to escalate."

That's exactly what the Steelworkers are doing in a half-dozen tough strikes and lockouts that have dragged on for as long as two years. Other unions often have let such struggles dissolve into demoralizing defeats or even pulled the plug on militant locals, but the Steelworkers have decided that to be credible in fighting for the core of the union, they must take even the smallest battles seriously.

Under siege from anti-union employers and squeezed by the new global economy over the past two decades, the Steelworkers may have turned the corner strategically in the 20-month lockout of 1,700 workers that began in November 1990 at West Virginia's Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation. The Steelworkers launched a model "corporate campaign," wedding extensive research to rank-and-file involvement in pressuring the company on countless legal, financial, political and environmental fronts (recently detailed in *Ravenswood*, a fascinating book by labor researchers Tom Juravich and Kate Bronfenbrenner). Since then, the Steelworkers have won other seemingly impossible contests at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel, Bayou Steel and Bridgestone-Firestone Tire. Now, the union is embroiled in a range of grueling showdowns against profitable companies that tried to tighten the screws on workers:

- A 21-month lockout of 1,100 workers at a Pueblo, Colo., steel mill owned by Oregon Steel, which the company imposed when workers offered to return after a three-month strike.
- A 15-month strike by 400 workers in Hawesville, Ky., to force NSA Southwire, a notoriously anti-union company with \$1.6 billion annual sales, to recognize the union that workers voted for more than two years ago.
- Two strikes of 1,000 workers for more than a year against the Des Moines, Iowa, and Natchez, Miss., tire plants of Titan International.

- A year-long strike of 1,450 workers at the Charlotte, N.C., General Tire factory owned by the German-based multinational Continental AG.
- A 10-month strike of 138 toolmakers against Farley Tool and Engineering, a company privately owned by Fruit of the Loom CEO William Farley.
- A nine-month lockout of 3,100 workers, following a three-month strike, at five Kaiser Aluminum factories in Washington State and, until the plant blew up earlier this summer while operated by scabs, in Louisiana.

While the issues vary, in many of these disputes workers are trying to recover earlier concessions or regain contracts along industry patterns. But they also typically are fighting for less grueling, family-destroying work schedules, better health and safety regulations, protection of jobs against subcontracting and basic union rights. Management in most cases has decided to compete by maintaining substandard contracts, weakening or avoiding unions, hiring replacement workers and demanding further concessions from workers who have already given up much.

During an economic "boom," unions theoretically shouldn't face such hostile bargaining. But in the supposedly fabulous '90s economy, employers have continued to downsize and lean on employees. Manufacturing workers, especially those exposed to global competition, working for big multinationals or producing basic industrial commodities, have remained under continuing pressure. "In manufacturing, we've jumped full bore into this world economy," says Steelworkers District 11 director David Foster, who has led the battle with Kaiser. "Things on the surface in the United States look extremely prosperous, but if you look at basic commodity industries you see a world awash in [excess] capacity, companies ratcheting down on costs, and pressures to merge."

A traditional strike often has limited effect in a global industry against a few plants of a multinational conglomerate that employs replacement workers. In these situations, Becker says, "You can lose on the picket line, but it's difficult to win on the picket line. You have to find different ways to fight and bring economic pressures." Hence the "corporate campaign" that tries to use whatever is available to pressure the company—its customers, financiers and investors; politicians and legislative, legal or regulatory processes; and allies from

civic and labor movements around the world. "In this day and age," Becker says. "You don't win these fights by yourself."

There are several key elements in the Steelworkers' strategy of escalating corporate campaigns, a leading union strategist explains. First, the union will never give up. Second, it will always do more in the future. That means whatever the company may have survived, it can never know what is coming next. Then the union must be able—and willing—to inflict damage that will be hard for the company to undo. Finally, the union must be ready at some point to settle—and to maintain as much as possible a standardized pattern for each industry.

The union corporate campaigns draw on staff expertise but are executed by workers on strike or lockout, such as the "road warriors" who spread the word of their struggle to the general public and other unions. The campaigns are a way of building local union solidarity during a time that could otherwise be demoralizing. "One of the key aspects is keeping the membership informed of what's going on," says Kaiser coordinator Jon Youngdahl. "A lot of good ideas come out of the rank-and-file membership."

In the current disputes, the Steelworkers have used a wide range of tactics:

Attack links to customers. Consumers may buy Titan or General tires—and the union has leafleted car and tire dealers to discourage the purchase or sale of those brands—but they don't buy rails from Oregon Steel or aluminum sheets from Kaiser. Yet they do buy Pepsi and Budweiser cans or fly on Boeing planes made with Kaiser aluminum or ride Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) trains on rails made by Oregon Steel's Rocky Mountain Steel (RMS) division. Even though most retail boycotts take a small financial bite, companies don't like the bad publicity.

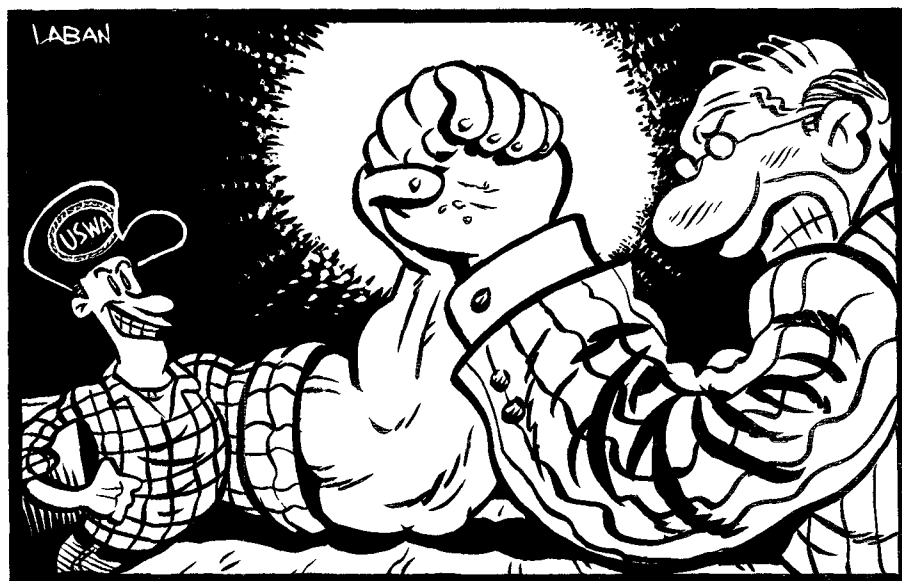
In any case, the Steelworkers' main target has been the corporate consumer—who doesn't need the hassle generated by a supplier's labor conflict and often has very good grounds to worry about the quality of products made by inexperienced workers. Recently, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors urged BART not to patronize RMS, and campaigns are building in several other cities against buying new or replacement rails. The Steelworkers have no reservations about taking the risk that such campaigns on shoddy work could damage the companies over the long run. The companies are just "hurting themselves," Foster says.

Increase financial pressure. Wells Fargo Bank has been the lead lender to Oregon Steel, saving it from default three times during its labor conflict. So the Steelworkers have organized dozens of unions, churches and other institutions to withdraw more than \$1.3 billion from Wells Fargo and are now pressing big cities like San Francisco and Denver to do the same. The union and the Public Interest Research Group also have

launched a ballot initiative in San Francisco to eliminate ATM surcharges, which earned the bank \$20 million last year in that area. The campaign has borne some fruit: In June, Wells Fargo withdrew as lead lender, leaving Oregon Steel in the unusual position of administering its own loans, and other banks stopped lending to the company altogether.

The union has cooled down its boycott for a couple of months to give Wells Fargo a chance to persuade Oregon Steel managers to settle, but if the bank doesn't use its influence, the campaign will kick into higher gear this fall. California state Rep. Scott Wildman, whose committee oversees all public institutions, said he might consider legislation to direct the California pension funds to sell their large Wells Fargo holdings.

Undermine investor confidence and support for management. Besides issuing regular reports on company financial problems to Wall Street investment firms, the Steelworkers have taken their case to stockholder meetings of companies like Oregon Steel and Kaiser's parent, Maxxam Corporation, which is controlled by the notorious leveraged buyout manipulator,



"You can lose on the picket line, but it's difficult to win on the picket line. You have to find different ways to fight."

Charles Hurwitz. Last spring, the Steelworkers actually won majorities for three resolutions to limit management power at Oregon Steel. And the union allied with environmentalists—who are angry with the threat to old growth redwoods from Maxxam-owned Pacific Lumber—to run two alternative candidates for Maxxam's board of directors, winning a remarkable 22 percent of shareholder votes (42 percent of the votes not directly controlled by Hurwitz).

The Steelworkers' resistance to the unfair labor practices of Titan chairman Morry Taylor, such as his threat to move strikers' jobs from Iowa to a new plant in Texas built with heavy public subsidies, may have precipitated the pending takeover of Titan by Carlisle Industries, which the union expects to be more willing to negotiate.

Apply political, legislative and regulatory pressure. The Steelworkers are demanding that labor-backed politicians intervene against abusive employers. Exposing politicians to such conflicts also makes them more sympathetic: After presidential candidate Bill Bradley visited Titan picketers, he spoke out strongly for labor law reform. The union also has recruited religious leaders to sign supportive ads and issue reports deploring corporate intransigence.

In several instances, the Steelworkers have organized against local tax breaks and subsidies for the companies, arguing that they're violating their promises to the community. In Natchez, the City Council suspended tax abatements until a contract is negotiated. The union persuaded the Washington State attorney general to bring criminal charges against a company supplying scabs to Kaiser in violation of a state law against bringing strikebreakers across state lines. In the battle with Southwire, the Steelworkers won passage of a local ordinance regulating security firms, including requiring criminal background checks, which led to the withdrawal of a couple hundred guards. And when Southwire tried to secure an industrial revenue bond, the union ran candidates for the county commission and mayor, defeating Southwire supporters and the bond.

In nearly every case, the union has increased publicity about health and safety violations in the factories with replacement workers, leading to investigations and fines. But often the attacks are much more indirect. In Chicago, for example, the Steelworkers and allies from Citizen Action have directed regulatory complaints and consumer campaigns against a cable company partly owned by William Farley, owner of Farley Tool, and they have tarnished Farley's cultivated image as an elite civic leader, picketing at performances of Chicago's Goodman Theater and Lyric Opera and pressuring Bowdoin and Boston Colleges to dissociate themselves from him.

Build union solidarity, globally when possible. In June, as part of an international week of actions against Continental AG—including protests at German consulates and Continental facilities, 800 workers at its Port Elizabeth,

South Africa, plant stopped work for two hours and forced their manager to fax German headquarters a request to settle the strike in North Carolina. Throughout the United States there were protests at Ford dealerships in 61 cities, and the United Auto Workers joined in Steelworker demands that Ford stop using the company's General tires. Earlier, workers from Charlotte had traveled to Germany, meeting with unions, protesting at a stockholder meeting and a big truck race sponsored by Continental, and explaining the strike to bankers. The union also asked the State Department to raise the issue of replacement workers with the German government as a violation of multinational guidelines of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and filed a complaint with the International Labor Organization against the United States for failing to protect American workers' rights.

When strikers discovered that Titan was bringing workers from its Uruguayan factory to train Spanish-speaking scabs in Des Moines, the Steelworkers contacted the Uruguayan union, which pledged to expel any worker who trained strikebreakers. Then the union formed a council, comprising North and South American unions and workers trying to form unions at other Titan plants.

It's never clear which tactic will succeed, but the multifaceted campaigns do work. A contract strike at Newport News Shipbuilding last spring, for example, was settled just before a planned massive protest in Washington, D.C. Corporate campaigns aren't needed in every conflict: The union negotiated steel contracts without a strike this year in part because the companies worried about further import penetration. But when the multifaceted campaigns are needed, unions are more likely to succeed if they are prepared early on to escalate.

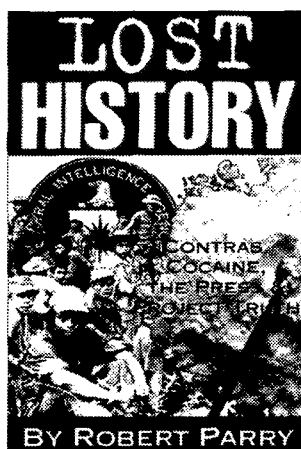
"You have to get the boss to the point that he thinks about the union and that strike 24 hours a day," Becker says. "You have to get your activities to the point where the last thing he thinks about as he goes to bed is everything he had to put up with because of union activities, and the first thing he thinks about is 'what do I have to do to deal with these bastards today?'" ■

How did the Watergate press corps of the '70s become the Monica Lewinsky media of the '90s?

What's true and what's not about cocaine trafficking by Ronald Reagan's contras?

What happened to honest reporters when they tried to tell the American people what was really going on?

Did the CIA oversee a secret plan to manipulate the public, so-called 'Project Truth'?



The answers are part of **Lost History** by Robert Parry, the AP reporter who broke much of Iran-contra.

- ☐ For just \$19.95, send me **Lost History**.
- ☐ For \$35, send me **Lost History** and one year—6 issues—of Parry's **if Magazine**. (Save \$10)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/ZIP: _____

Visa/MC #: _____ Exp.: _____

(Send check or Visa/Mastercard data to: The Media Consortium, 2200 Wilson Blvd., Ste.102-231, Arlington, VA 22201. Or call 1-800-738-1812 or 703-920-1802 with Visa/MasterCard. U.S. shipping and handling free. Add \$15 for non-U.S. orders.)

iVIEQUES

Empty bullet casings litter the sun-baked beach and the narrow dirt trails that disappear into the underbrush. From the top of a nearby hill, you can spot the pockmarks of bomb craters and the fins of unexploded missiles and shells, some 4 feet high, poking out from the mangled landscape like deadly pickup sticks.

This 20-mile-long island just off the east coast of Puerto Rico, a once-lush paradise, is now a denuded and contaminated indictment of American colonialism. Here on Vieques, an island most Americans have never heard of, a major political upheaval has erupted during the past few months, taking Washington by surprise and sparking unprecedented unity among Puerto Rico's 3.8 million inhabitants. The conflict is rapidly turning into a battleground over the meaning of democracy and human rights, one that has the Pentagon's top brass scurrying to ward off a major defeat.

Manuela Santiago was born and reared on Vieques and has been mayor of its 9,300 inhabitants for the past 16 years. Despite her post, Santiago had never seen the easternmost part of the island, called Cayo Yayi, until Aug. 13, when she traveled there in a rickety fishing boat with an American delegation headed by the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Roberto Gonzalez, the archbishop of San Juan. This section of Vieques has been off-limits to local residents since the '40s, when it came under control of the U.S. Navy, along with more than two-thirds of the rest of the island. During the following decades, the Navy has used the area as a live-ammunition practice range, which the Pentagon calls the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facility. At the other end of the island, the Navy operates a huge munitions dump. The people of Vieques are squeezed in between the dump and the range.

Practice at the range goes on for as many as 200 days out of every year. Combat planes bomb and strafe the island. Destroyers bombard it from sea. The U.S. government even lends Vieques out to the navies of NATO and Latin American countries so they too can fire their shells at it. Maneuvers have included, on occasion, practice with depleted uranium shells, napalm and cluster bombs. That several thousand Puerto Ricans, all of them U.S. citizens, live next to a bombing range on an island only twice the size of Manhattan has never seemed to bother the Pentagon, which claims Vieques is essential to national defense.

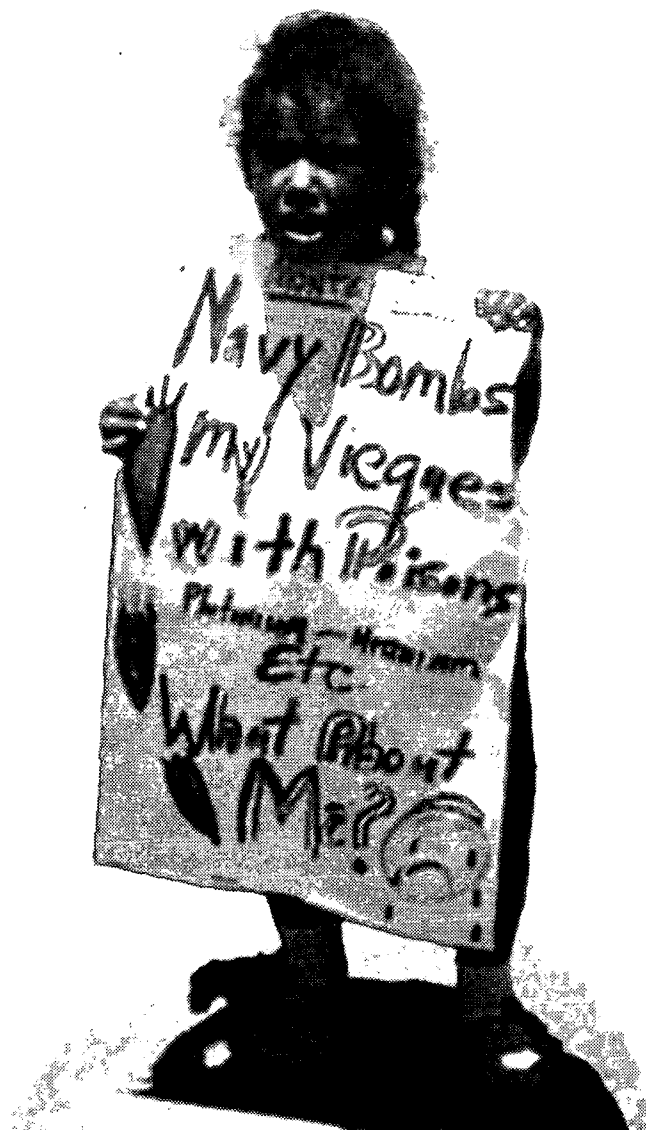
"My father says that before the Navy came, the palm trees here were so thick you needed a flashlight in the middle of the afternoon to be able to walk in their shadows," says Carlos Ventura, the leader of a fishermen's group that is demanding the Navy leave, as he stands on the bare beach at Cayo Yayi. "Look around you, there isn't a palm tree in sight."

Do you know what it's like trying to teach with jet fighters and helicopters buzzing over us all the time, and bombs exploding in the distance?" asks Javier Torres, an industrial arts teacher at one of Vieques' public schools. Torres spoke as he and hundreds of pupils and teachers stood outside their school to cheer the Jackson delegation's visit to the island. It

LIBRE!

PUERTO RICO WANTS THE U.S. NAVY TO GET OUT

BY JUAN GONZALEZ
VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO



VIEQUES TIMES

was Jackson's third trip to Vieques during the past 15 years.

More than 70 percent of the island's inhabitants live in poverty, its fishing industry is in shambles, and its residents suffer from a cancer rate 27 percent higher than the rest of Puerto Rico. Tourism is anemic—despite Vieques having some of the most spectacular coral reef in the Caribbean—because many of the island's pristine beaches and waters are contaminated by unexploded shells. As for jobs, the usual inducements the military offers to such communities, a recent task force formed by Puerto Rico Gov. Pedro Rossello revealed that only 30 people from Vieques are employed by the Navy.

The longstanding problems caused by the Navy's presence have been exacerbated by some

by one of the Puerto Rican teachers' unions, which established a fourth camp. Each of the groups have kept supporters living in the camps day and night since May. They are vowing to remain until the Navy leaves or they are arrested. So many protesters have moved into the area that the Pentagon has been forced to suspend all maneuvers.

Unfortunately, the protests have been marred by factional conflicts. The Zenon fishermen's group, which has always been the most militant of the Navy's opponents, is at odds with Ventura's group, which was invited by Rossello to represent Vieques' fishermen on his official task force.

IMAGINE THE NAVY USING MARTHA'S VINEY.



The Rev. Jesse Jackson and San Juan Mayor Sila Calderón.

chilling mistakes committed by troops on maneuvers. Mayor Santiago remembers one particularly bad incident on the night of October 24, 1993. "We all heard these loud explosions," she says. "Every house in the town shook." Santiago immediately telephoned the commander at nearby Roosevelt Roads Naval Base. No one could tell her what happened. The next day she discovered that a pilot on a bombing run had missed his target by several miles and dropped five bombs just outside of town.

Another time, in 1997, some National Guard troops mistakenly strafed a school bus and a police car with machine guns. No one was hurt in either accident, but the people of Vieques always knew a disaster was bound to happen. It finally did this year on April 19. That's when two Navy pilots on a bombing run missed their target and hit an observation post with a couple of 500-pound bombs. David Sanes Rodriguez, a Puerto Rican security guard, was killed and four others were wounded.

Sanes' death was the final straw. A few days later, a group of fishermen led by several sons of Carlos Zenon—the fisherman who led protests against the Navy in the late '70s—moved their boats into the Navy zone and set up a protest camp on the hill where Sanes was killed. They rechristened it Mount David in honor of the dead man. They were followed by Ruben Berrios Martinez, long-time head of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, who led a group onto another part of the Navy land, Allende Beach, where they set up another protest camp. Then another group of fishermen headed by Ventura set up their camp at Cayo Yayi, followed

Virtually every political and religious leader in Puerto Rico, including Rossello, has turned against the Navy. A recent public opinion poll indicated that 70 percent of Puerto Rico's voters want an end to the bombing, and 37 percent have developed negative views of the Navy's overall presence in Puerto Rico. After Rossello's administration made a formal request to Clinton that the Navy leave, the President named a Pentagon task force to recommend what to do. That task force completed its work at the end of August and handed a report to Secretary of Defense William Cohen, who was scheduled to make his own recommendation to Clinton the week after Labor Day. With a final decision on Vieques near, both sides in the conflict began to pull out their big guns. Gen. Wesley Clark, commander of NATO and U.S. troops in Europe, warned on Aug. 23 that Navy and Marine Corps forces "may not be fully combat-ready" if the Pentagon doesn't resume bombing on Vieques. Secretary of the Navy Richard Danzig chimed in, saying that the "loss of Vieques would degrade the readiness of our sailors and Marines for battle."

A July 15 Navy report prepared for Danzig suggests just how important the Vieques range is considered by the military. "This unique facility," the report states, "is the only location in the Atlantic where realistic multidimensional combat training can be conducted in a combined and coordinated manner. It is the only range which offers a live fire land target complex with day and night capability, an immediately adjacent large area of low traffic airspace, and deep water seaspace. Co-located are underwater and electronic warfare ranges, amphibious landing beaches and maneuver areas, a full service naval base and air station and interconnected range support facilities. It is the premier U.S. Naval training facility, reflecting more than 50 years of investment and development."

But Puerto Rico has pulled out some heavy firepower of its own. Last month, Rossello hired former U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell and Sam Nunn, one-time chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, to represent the island, and threatened a federal suit against the Navy if Clinton does not order an end to the bombing. In addition, Rossello claimed to have the support of Vice President Gore, though a Gore spokesman declined to say what the two men discussed during a recent phone conversation about Vieques.

Carlos Romero Barcelo, the island's nonvoting representative in Congress, accuses the Navy of violating Clinton's 1994 executive order on environmental justice, which

mandates all federal agencies to eliminate policies that produce a discriminatory impact on minority and poor communities. "This is an extraordinary example of environmental injustice [that] would never have happened in Martha's Vineyard," Romero says.

With each day that passes, the Pentagon realizes Vieques may be slipping from its grasp. Navy officials are so worried Clinton may side with Puerto Rico that Danzig organized an unusual briefing for Jackson when he visited Vieques. At 6 a.m. on Aug. 13, two Navy commanders went to Jackson's San Juan hotel room to plead their case. One of them was Rear Adm. Kevin Moran, commander of the Naval Region Southeast; the other was Captain James Stark, commander of the Roosevelt Roads base. The two spent half an hour explaining to the civil rights leader why the live-fire practice conditions on Vieques can't be replicated anywhere else in the world.

"You guys don't get it," Jackson told them, shaking his head. "These people don't want you here." In the Philippines and in Panama, the people reached a point where they said the Navy must leave, Jackson told them. "Now they are saying it in Puerto Rico," he said. "It is undemocratic of us not to listen. Colonialism is a sin anywhere."

The officers continued to press their argument. They conceded the Navy had not been the best of neighbors. They even said they were amenable to a possible reduction in the number of days devoted to bombing, and to offering additional money to Vieques for local economic development.

Dennis Rivera, head of 1199, the health care workers union, who organized much of Jackson's trip, stopped one of the officers in mid-sentence. "Where are you from?" Rivera asked.

One officer said he had been raised on Long Island. "Well, how would you feel if you were living there now and the Navy was bombing the Hamptons?" The two Navy men smiled, as if conceding Rivera's point.

Then Jackson startled them. "The Navy reminds me of a man who desperately wants a beautiful woman," he said. "The woman keeps saying, 'No,' and you keep insisting you have to have her."

At that point, realizing they had failed to move Jackson, the Navy men left, but not before one of them expressed his "immense admiration" for the reverend.

Jackson on his Puerto Rico trip, for instance, was Rick Dovalina, the national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens, a largely Mexican-American group. And Jackson has promised leaders in Puerto Rico that he will break the news blackout on Vieques and turn the island's plight into a major issue in the United States if Clinton does not pass a "moral test" and end the bombing.

While many Puerto Rican leaders were buoyed by Jackson's trip, those on the left who continue to call for Puerto Rican independence perceived a troublesome two-sided message in some of his speeches. For instance, Jackson was warmly received by Rossello, who champions making Puerto Rico the fifty-first state. And the civil rights leader repeatedly talked of the "second-class citizenship" Puerto Ricans face under U.S. rule.

The Puerto Rican left has seen its own goals and desires subsumed by well-meaning progressives from the mainland in the past. The reality is that even some of the most "progressive" American political leaders, especially in the labor movement and among African-Americans, have quietly longed for Puerto Rico's complete annexation. Those leaders believe that the two senators and seven representatives a Puerto Rican state would send to Congress could have far-reaching impact on the balance of power in Washington in favor of the Democratic Party. They think Puerto Rican progressives are making a strategic mistake by continuing to cling to a dream of independence that has never garnered



RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION

Jackson crosses to Cayo Yayi.

THE HAMPTONS FOR TARGET PRACTICE.

As President Clinton mulls his decision, he finds himself in a bind. He is already facing a well-orchestrated backlash from law enforcement groups furious over his commutation of the sentences of 16 Puerto Rican nationalists who have been serving long federal sentences for seditious conspiracy. Meanwhile, Gore is avidly courting Latinos for his likely presidential race with George W. Bush next year, and Hillary Clinton is seeking Puerto Rican support in her possible showdown for the Senate with New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

Against that backdrop, Latinos on the mainland see Vieques as a human rights issue. Among those joining

even a large plurality on the island. Furthermore, they reason, Puerto Rican statehood would make the continued denial of statehood to the District of Columbia almost impossible. While Jackson did not publicly make such a call for statehood, the implications of his message were not lost on the Puerto Rican left, especially when he was accompanied by the leader of LULAC, an organization that supports Puerto Rican statehood.

But for now, the main concern of everyone, the issue that has united Puerto Rico like never before, is getting the Navy out of Vieques. Should Clinton cave in to Navy pressure and deny Puerto Rico's near unanimous cry to end the bombing, he risks baring this remnant of U.S. colonialism for the entire world to see. ■

Justice Denied

By Kari Lydersen

CHICAGO

As a kid, Aaron Patterson wanted to be a policeman like his father, an officer on Chicago's South Side. Even though Patterson was a self-proclaimed gang member as a teen and involved in gang-related crime, he planned to follow in his father's footsteps.

That all changed on April 30, 1986.

That's when Patterson was arrested as a suspect in the double murder of Vincente and Rafaela Sanchez, a crime he says he had absolutely nothing to do with. The elderly couple, who ran a fence for stolen goods in their South Side neighborhood, was found brutally stabbed to death. During his interrogation, Patterson was tortured at Chicago's Area Two police headquarters by officers under the command of Lieut. Jon Burge, who suffocated Patterson with a typewriter cover, punched him and threatened him with a gun.

The "confession" that he supposedly made to the officers after 25 hours of this treatment is unsigned and there is no recording of it, only a tape of Patterson asking for a lawyer. He was never allowed to see a lawyer or his father, as he attested in a crude etching he made on a station bench with a paper clip as he was being interrogated.

Patterson, now 35, was later sentenced to die for the crime. He has spent the past 10 years on Death Row in the Pontiac Correctional Center, having lost his direct appeals. Currently his case is in the post-conviction appeal stage, and on Sept. 14 and 15 the Illinois Supreme Court will hear oral arguments regarding his allegations of torture. The Court then could grant him a new hearing, where he could ask for a new trial. If the state Court declines to grant him a new hearing, he would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. If he loses the post-conviction appeals, an execution date could be set.

A loud-mouthed gang member and influential local figure by his own description, Patterson has said he thinks the police were out to get him and used the murder as a convenient excuse. No physical evidence ties him to the crime: There were no signs of forced entry into the Sanchez's house, though there were bloody and dirty shoe prints on the

porch and inside the house, as well as fingerprints that didn't match the victims. Patterson's lawyers say a lab technician told them that none of this evidence matched Patterson. But the evidence was not introduced in Patterson's trials or appeals because the Cook County State's Attorney's office claims to have lost it.

The main evidence used to convict Patterson was the unsigned confession and the testimony of Marva Hall, a then 16-year-old girl who originally testified that Patterson had boasted about the murder. Her cousin was also a suspect at the time she testified, and she has twice recanted her testimony and stated in a signed 1998 affidavit that trial prosecutor Jack Hynes coerced her to testify against Patterson even though she told him such testimony would be false. "There's no evidence that links him at all except this statement he supposedly made while under the duress of torture," says Patterson's attorney, Flint Taylor of the People's Law Office. "Marva Hall is nothing—she has recanted so many times, and she's not even an eyewitness. There's no blood, fingerprints, nothing."

In addition to the lack of evidence linking Patterson to the crime, his lawyers and investigative journalists long have known of another likely suspect, Willie Washington, who did odd jobs for the murdered couple and allegedly had keys to their house. In 1994, Washington was convicted of stabbing a woman two dozen times during a burglary similar to the Sanchez case. Patterson's lawyers say Washington was heard proposing a robbery of the Sanchezes, and another neighbor, Charlie Tillery, later reported seeing Washington with a stash of guns after the robbery. Washington is in prison at the Menard Correctional Center. But prosecutors refuse to question him about the case since Patterson remains officially guilty. Patterson's lawyers have questioned Washington, but he has declined to say anything beyond admitting he knew the couple.

In 1993, Burge was fired from the police force after an Office of Professional Standards investigation found him and his underlings guilty of torturing more than 60 black men between 1972 and 1986 with methods including those described by Patterson as well as burns from radiators, electric shocks to the genitals, severe beatings, "ear cuppings" and Russian roulette. Two non-capital convictions were eventually reversed because

Is Another Innocent Man Sitting on Illinois' Death Row?

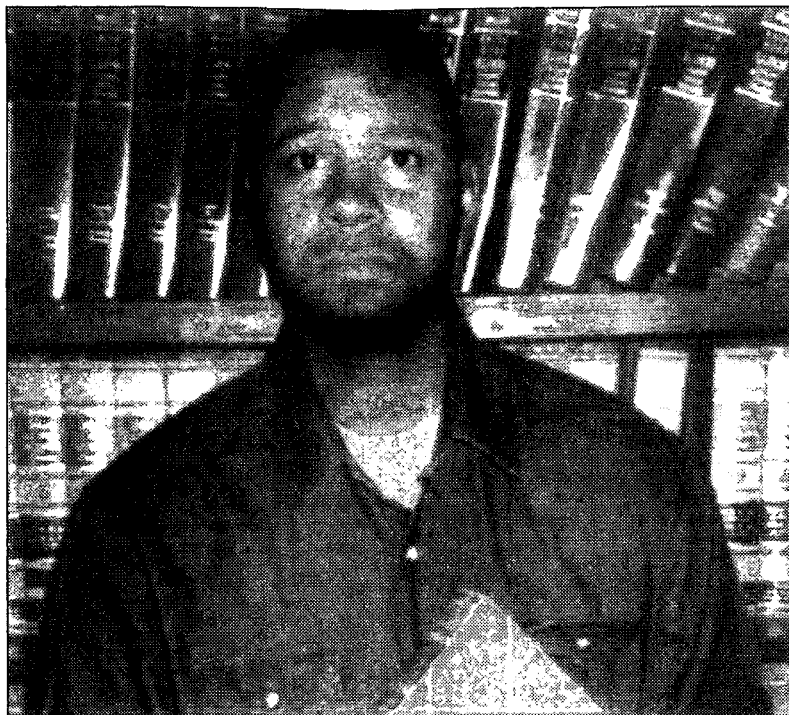
of Burge's involvement, though one of the inmates already had finished serving his time. Besides Patterson, there are at least nine other men on Death Row who allege they were tortured by Burge. Various activist groups and lawyers have been calling for retrials for all of the "Death Row 10." Bob Benjamin, spokesman for State's Attorney Richard Devine, says that all these cases will be reviewed, as will the cases of every Death Row prisoner in Cook County.

Patterson's claims of innocence and police and prosecutorial misconduct come amidst a rash of similar cases in Illinois. In the past

12 years, 12 innocent men have been released from Illinois' Death Row after DNA testing or other evidence proved their innocence. In many of the cases, police brutality and/or prosecutorial misconduct led to the wrongful convictions, and in most of the cases it was journalists, lawyers and activists—not the system—who worked to free them. The rash of wrongful convictions has spurred a movement for a death penalty moratorium in Illinois, which is endorsed by the American Bar Association and numerous politicians. Last year, Northwestern University hosted an international conference on wrongful convictions and the death penalty, where dozens of wrongfully convicted former Death Row inmates called for an end to executions (see "Criminal Injustice System," Dec. 27, 1998).

Patterson and his lawyers say Cook County State's Attorney Devine continually has tried to prevent Patterson from getting a fair trial or introducing the alleged torture because of a conflict of interest and political desire to protect his own career. Even after Burge's pattern of systematic torture was proven, Devine declined to grant Patterson a new trial or evidentiary hearing.

Earlier this summer, Devine asked the Illinois Supreme Court to stay new court proceedings for Patterson and Death Row inmates Ronald Kitchen and Derrick King, who also allege they were tortured by Burge. Devine was delaying the oral arguments pending the outcome of ongoing hearings into the torture claims of Darrell Cannon, another alleged Burge



Aaron Patterson

victim who is serving life in prison for a drug-related murder. Cannon's hearings are in front of Circuit Court Judge John Morrissey, the very same judge who repeatedly has refused to hear the torture claims of Patterson, Cannon and others. (He only is hearing Cannon's case now because of an appellate court order.) Morrissey also had scoffed at the innocence claims of former Death Row inmate Ronald Jones, and tried to prevent the DNA testing of evidence that ultimately led to Jones' release from Death Row last spring.

"Morrissey is very pro-prosecution and

pro-police," says Taylor, noting that the judge used to work for the State's Attorney's office. "He has had three or four chances to do something about police torture and has refused every time." (Morrissey wasn't the only questionable judge involved in Patterson's case. Arthur Cieslik, the judge who refused Patterson's request to suppress the unsigned confession, was later removed from the bench for making racist and sexist statements to lawyers.)

Devine also was first assistant state's attorney at the time of Patterson's torture, and prosecutors from his office were involved in the interrogations. And during a break from his political career, Devine served as a partner in a law firm that unsuccessfully represented Burge during the city's internal investigation—which resulted in his firing—and his subsequent failed appeal. (Burge is currently running a fishing operation in Florida.) Devine was paid \$750,000 for the work, according to Patterson's lawyers. "Devine has admitted systematic torture is relevant to these cases, yet he's not willing to stand up and say these men should be given their day in court," Taylor said at a press conference in early August. "There's an obvious conflict of interest. On one hand, he's the advocate of the police and State's Attorney's Office, trying to protect them, and on the other hand he is the state's attorney, sworn to do justice."

Devine's spokesman insists there is no conflict of interest. "That has nothing to do with the current situation," Benjamin says, noting that Patterson's lawyers hadn't brought up the issue in earlier meetings with Devine, when they were hoping to gain

his cooperation in granting Patterson a new trial. It was only later that they went to the media with the charges, he says.

But on Aug. 23, the state Supreme Court denied Devine's request to delay oral arguments in the three cases, and the arguments for Patterson, Kitchen and King will proceed on Sept. 14 and 15. "We're pleased, but we think Devine should have agreed to have a full new trial for Aaron," says Taylor, who also represents Cannon. "Instead, he wanted to pull a trick and wait for the outcome of another hearing, knowing full well that in all likelihood Morrissey would rule for the state. It was a pretty transparent attempt and the Supreme Court saw through it."

While most of Patterson's supporters remain skeptical about his ever receiving fair treatment in the judicial system, they are pleased with the court's ruling. "We're delighted not to have to wait for Morrissey's decision," says Patterson's mother, Joann, who has tirelessly advocated her son's innocence at press conferences and rallies over the years. "But at the same time, we're full of anxiety over whether they'll listen to the case with open ears, because we've been through this before."

Patterson has spent his time on Death Row relentlessly hounding politicians and journalists about his case and compiling copious files in his cell. David Protess, the Northwestern University journalism professor who is known for helping free the "Ford Heights Four" and Anthony Porter from Death Row, has taken up Patterson's case with the students in his investigative journalism class. Protess' crusade on behalf of Patterson was featured in a *Newsweek* story in May, and *60 Minutes* has been following the case and chronicling the daily lives of Joann Patterson and the members of the

Aaron Patterson Defense Committee. Several of the jurors in Patterson's original case have come forward saying they would not have found him guilty if they'd known about the torture, and numerous Illinois politicians, including Democratic Reps. Danny Davis, Bobby Rush and Jan Schakowsky, have called for a new trial for Patterson.

But Patterson's zealous activism on prison issues has resulted in retribution from prison officials, he says. He has spent time in solitary confinement and refused to have visitors for a month because he was forced to undergo body cavity searches before and after each one. "This is a form of sexual harassment and cruel and unusual punishment," he wrote in a letter to the Department of Corrections on behalf of Pontiac Correctional Center inmates. "We are human beings and we demand that we be treated as such, for we are the same men who will return to society one day and live amongst these guards who choose to violate our civil and human rights."

Patterson says that he is confident he will eventually be proven innocent and released, and that he wants to continue working to fight the systematic problems within the justice system that have allowed so many black men to be wrongfully placed on Death Row. "I have always been an organizer and a strategist," Patterson wrote in a letter. "That is one of the main reasons why I was framed in this case. I can't wait to get out so I can be active on a lot of issues of concern. ... The injustice done to me shows just how racist, corrupt and biased the justice system and the government of the U.S. truly are." ■

Kari Lydersen is associate editor of Streetwise newspaper in Chicago and writes for Swimming World, The Chicago Reader and The Washington Post.



Prices & Terms

- ☐ One year, 24 issues of *In These Times*: \$36.95
 - ☐ Six months, 12 issues: \$19.95
 - ☐ One year, Institutional: \$75.00
 - ☐ Payment enclosed
 - ☐ Bill me
- Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

Canadian orders, add: \$25 (one year), \$12.50 (six months).
Other foreign orders add: \$39 (one year), \$19.50 (six months).

■ NEW SUBSCRIPTION

You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks.
Please check price and terms below.

AST2

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

■ RENEW NOW

We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you worries about expiring and helps us save money and the environment by not sending renewal notices and bills.

ART2

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

■ MOVING?

Fill out old address above and new address below.

Allow 4-6 weeks for change.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

■ GREAT GIFT IDEA!

Just try to find a gift with more thought behind it! Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.

XSTH2

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

Mail to: *In These Times* Customer Service, 308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

Or call 1-800-827-0270

The Master Baiter

By Scott McLemee

Forty years ago, when George Lincoln Rockwell (1918-1967) first donned his stormtrooper suit to march in front of the White House, it was quite a novelty act. Here was a real live American Nazi with a flair for the publicity stunt. Rockwell organized "Hate-o-nannies" of racist folk music. He picketed the Charlton Heston film *Exodus* in his swastika armband. He predicted economic collapse and racial warfare—following which "the Commander" (as similarly festooned cothinkers called him) would seize power and abolish any vestige of democratic pluralism. In the meantime, he demanded his quota of First Amendment rights.



George Lincoln Rockwell, *Self-portrait*.

COURTESY OF JAMES MASON

Most accounts of neo-Nazism are based on newspaper articles and the movement's own literature. *American Fuhrer* draws on Freedom of Information Act material, interviews with Rockwell's friends and family, and collections of private correspondence. What was it like to do research this close and searching? My guess is, plenty damn scary. But it was worth it. *American Fuhrer* is an important addition to the literature on the far right—and a sign that scholarship in this area is deepening.

Until recently, academic works on this subject were few and far between, and they tended to focus on the demagogues of the '30s or

McCarthyism. Books on more recent developments were usually the work of journalists; some did deep research, others just quoted the more outrageous statements in a suitable tone of alarm. But over the past dozen years or so, the scholarship on the American right has grown at an accelerating pace. Life after Reagan is easier to understand, if not deal with, thanks to overviews like David Benet's history of nativist movements in *The Party of Fear* (1988) and political sociologist Sarah Diamond's study of right-wing institutions in *Roads to Dominion* (1995). Particular currents

"When I agitate in uniform," Rockwell wrote, "I want people to hate me."

within the right have been the subject of close analysis; after reading very much of this work, it becomes problematic to speak of "the conservative movement" as a monolithic entity. And a veritable cottage industry has grown up around Klan studies, including detailed accounts of its role in the '20s, when membership numbered about a million.

The Rockwell crew was never so grand. Nor does Simonelli make exager-

American Fuhrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party

By Frederick J. Simonelli
University of Illinois Press
280 pages, \$29.95

And journalists cooperated. Rockwell made a good story; the man was photogenic and could rant in a fairly articulate manner. He was creepy and colorful (unlike, say, the Communists, so Eisenhoweresque in their gray predictability). Yet the American Nazi Party was no threat to the mainstream. If anything, it reinforced the existing limits of American political culture: "Beyond this point," as old maps said, "there be monsters."

In 1960, a couple of journalists in Washington hit on an interesting way to investigate this increasingly media-savvy pariah, who lived with his followers just across the Potomac River, in a big old house nicknamed "Hate-monger Hill." One reporter would interview Rockwell about his movement; the other would actually join the American Nazi Party, and check the answers from the inside.

Some years later, George Clifford (the infiltrator) described life behind the scenes at Nazi headquarters, where the line between fantasy and reality got

pretty blurry. For example, the Aryan warriors kept a mutt, affectionately named Gas Chamber, who would occasionally bark at passers-by. When he did, it was a big deal. "Commander," one of the stormtroopers would intone, "this dog is getting vicious."

Clifford's final judgement of Rockwell—according to Phillip Finch's excellent book on the extreme right, *God, Guts, and Guns* (1983)—was that "the Commander" was a charlatan, in it for the money. But he was a also magnet, attracting loose screws. "Before I walked into the place every day, I had to sit in the car for fifteen or twenty minutes and psyche myself up for it," Clifford recalled, "just so I could get myself thinking the same crazy way everybody else in there did."

Perhaps Frederick Simonelli should write a memoir about what it was like to research *American Fuhrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. The book itself is cool and serious, without a hint of sensationalism. A more sober monograph about this lunatic outfit would be difficult to imagine. Like any good academic historian, Simonelli provides extensive documentation—and his footnotes and bibliography are, in a way, the most astonishing pages in the book.

rated claims for the importance of his subject. That, rather, has been the specialty of left journalists who enjoy scaring themselves silly. Paul Krassner's introduction to his interview with Rockwell, just reprinted in his collection *Impolite Interviews*, is typical: In 1961, he writes, there were "more than five hundred periodicals in the United States that regularly preached Nazi tenets, read by an estimated five million people. In early 1967 Rockwell obtained major funding from a cartel of wealthy right-wing businessmen, including the Hunt brothers in Texas." (For an excerpt of the interview, see below.)

In actuality, the American Nazi Party had a couple hundred members at most, if you count multiple personalities. An estimate of 5 million subscribers to hard-core conservative journals in the United States in 1961 sounds about right—though calling them adherents of "Nazi tenets" is kind of a cheap shot. As for the legendary Hitlerian millionaires of Dallas ... well, like extraterrestrial proctologists, it's possible they exist, but if so, they did a good job hiding from Rockwell. Part of the budget at Hatemonger Hill was for dog food, and not all of it was eaten by canines.

Simonelli's monograph makes clear that the Nazis were the fringe of the

fringe. But *American Fuhrer* also shows how decisive Rockwell's activity was for later developments in the racist right, and not just in the United States. Rockwell was an early and enthusiastic promoter of Holocaust denial. Though devoid of religious feeling himself, he recognized the long-term potential of a racist theology. He encouraged his associates to build the so-called "Christian Identity" movement (now most commonly associated with Aryan Nations), which preaches that non-whites are subhuman "mud people" and Jews the spawn of Eve's intercourse with the serpent. And one of Rockwell's followers was William Pierce, who went on to write a novel about terrorism and racial apocalypse called *The Turner Diaries* (1978)—the favorite reading of various frightening people, Timothy McVeigh among them.

A network of fascist groups existed in Europe before Rockwell came along. But the revival of neo-Nazi activity abroad owed a lot to his charisma. He was admired to the point of infatuation by Colin Jordan and Bruno Lundtke, respective leaders of British and German fascists in those pre-skinhead days. By the mid-'60s, Rockwell was providing literature, posters and nifty little swastika stick-

ers to groups on every inhabited continent. *American Fuhrer* belongs to an important recent development in historical research on the far right: the study of global connections among racist and fascist groups. Simonelli's account is much richer than the few pages about Rockwell in Martin Lee's *The Beast Reawakens* (1997)—an otherwise detailed account of the postwar fascist international.

Whatever Rockwell's role in the history of the post-Hitler Nazism, his genius was for advertising, not ideas. He dubbed his first group the "World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists," suggesting that, as a theorist of fascism, he was vague on the concept. And for all the malice, there was something disingenuous and Chamber-of-Commerce-like about Rockwell's efforts to organize a political movement. His most profound strategic insight was that if he taunted Jews in a conspicuous manner, then (1) they would get mad, whereupon (2) anti-Semites would hear about it, join his group and give him money.

Doubts about the purity of Rockwell's motivation have existed since the early '60s—particularly within the extreme right, where the scramble for membership and funding was intense and often nasty. Was Rockwell a sincere adherent

Precious Bodily Fluids

In 1961, Paul Krassner, editor and publisher of *The Realist*, announced he would interview George Lincoln Rockwell. "Many readers objected," Krassner remembers. "But of course I proceeded anyway." Rockwell gave the interview via telephone from his Arlington, Va., headquarters. What follows is an excerpt from their conversation, which is reprinted in full in Krassner's *Impolite Interviews*, recently published by Seven Stories Press.

As head of the American Nazi Party—incidentally, you're aware that *The Realist* is not in sympathy with your views—

Well, my national secretary is familiar with your paper, and he says that whereas it is a very scummy liberal paper, you probably will print every word I say. (Aside: Duty officer, don't let the troopers monopolize that visitor, keep them

down to about 15 minutes of her time.)

What would you say is the purpose of your party?

The basic purpose—well, the seven principles that I have extracted and boiled down like vitamin pills from *Mein Kampf* and the works of Adolf Hitler are the basic idealistic aims of the party, but the direct immediate aims of the party are (1) and most important, to preserve the white race, and (2) to preserve order in society and bring men the maximum amount of happiness that is possible without creating a tyranny.

There was a novel written by Sinclair Lewis called *Kingsblood Royal*, where the main character was supposedly a Caucasian, but he suddenly discovered that one of his ancestors was a Negro. What would you do in such a case?

If I discovered that one of my ancestors was

a Negro, it would depend on how far back he was—if it was 600 to 700 years, it'd be all right; if it was real close, I'd go over to Africa and become the Nazi leader of Africa. I'd be the head nigger.

By the way, you don't identify with Abraham Lincoln, do you?

No, except that I think he was a great man.

How did you feel about the 1954 Supreme Court school integration decision?

I think this was strictly the product of the Communist conspiracy plus liberal dupes who went along with the thing.

Now you expect to be in the presidency in 1972?

In '73; I'll be elected in '72.

Do you really, actually, sincerely believe this?

With all my heart, sir. I've given up everything in my whole life, everything that's worthwhile, for this single goal.

How does the Kennedy administration fit into your plans?



Rockwell, left of podium, at a rally in Washington. He discovered that when the media covered his stunts, donations poured in.

of genocidal doctrines, or just a hustler? *American Fuhrer* suggests he was both. Rockwell may have been a snake oil salesman trying to make a buck, but he also believed in the product. Indeed, he concocted it to cure his own disorders.

After attending Brown University and serving in the military during both World War II and the Korean conflict, Rockwell had tried his hand at various entrepreneurial ventures—efforts to capitalize on his artistic skills and his instinct for publicity. His advertising agency failed, and so did various maga-

zines he launched. “Rockwell’s flaw,” Simonelli writes, “was a chronic inability to see a project through and stick with an idea, even a great one, long enough to reap the rewards of commercial success.” At some point along the way—the biographer is murky on the details, which is maddening—Rockwell developed a fascination for Adolf Hitler. Friends noted a personality change; in retrospect, they concluded that this shift from easygoing guy to strident bitterness marked the onset of mental illness. Everyone in Rockwell’s

family reached the same conclusion—with the important exception of his mother, for whom her beloved “Link” could do no wrong.

At least until the late ’50s, Rockwell kept his business enterprises and his political hobby separate. But then he had one shock to the system too many: His second wife dumped him, moving back to her native Iceland, leaving Rockwell paying child support for kids he never got to see. Whatever economic anxiety and psychic dislocation may have driven Rockwell to the anti-Semitic right, the collapse of his family now drove him to go public as a Nazi. By 1959, he emerged as “the Commander”—leading a boys’ club of neo-Nazis who looked to him as a surrogate daddy.

The movement certainly gave Rockwell a chance to use his gifts as a draftsman and performer. Simonelli reprints a number of handbills Rockwell produced—cartoons drawn in a Ripley’s *Believe It or Not* manner, thereby packaging hateful content in a familiar and charming style. And Rockwell was a pioneer in being (to use that now very tired word) “outrageous.” He would go on talk radio to denounce “Martin

It’s a setback for America, but it’s a gain for us, because the Kennedy administration will bring what was a chronic disease in America to an acute point. In other words, Communism, Marxism, Jewism and Niggerism was slowly growing on this country and the people were hardly able to see it. Now Kennedy is in and he will let Jews and niggers and commies in on everybody until they can’t stand it any more, which will put us into power. It’s a painful gain.

Do you plan to run for any political position before you try for the presidency itself?

I will run for the governorship of Virginia as soon as possible and will make it in 1964.

You said you have a Jewish member.

One of the most intelligent, cleverest men here—I don’t know whether I should give his name because the poor kid would be bitterly persecuted.

Now, if a Jewish member of your party turned out to be very reliable—let me give you the old cliché—would you want

your sister to marry him?

If he turned out to be very reliable I would allow him to rise to the highest level in the party; I would not want my sister to marry him—for racial reasons.

What do you think of William L. Shirer’s book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*?

I think it is a typically brilliant Jewish piece of smear. In fact, it is a super-brilliant smear; it is not the usual clumsy job, because it’s done so subtly. It is about seven-eighths fact and one-eighth—I’m very tempted to use a dirty word here, I don’t know whether it’s an interstate violation, but I think I’m willing to go to jail for it—it’s horseshit.

Shirer recently stated that there are more Nazis in West Germany’s foreign office today than there ever were in the 13 years of Hitler’s government.

He did! Did he say that? Well, God bless his little Jewish ass, that’s great. I think he’s right! I think there are more Nazis—you have no idea—unless you were sitting in my seat

you could not *imagine* how many people are Nazis. I have businessmen by the hundreds every day, they come sneaking up to me and say, “Why do you use that awful [swastika] sign, boy? I’m all for ya—you’re right—but you mustn’t let the Jews know.”

How do you feel about pornography?

I think pornography is vile and despicable, and in every case that I’ve tracked down—without exception—it is always the production of a gang of Jewish businessmen. You go down to the drugstore or the magazine rack and look at all these erotic, foul magazines. It started with—what was it called—the guy that broke off with *Esquire*—

Hugh Hefner; you mean *Playboy*?

Yeah, it started with *Playboy* and now there are about 20 of them, and they are *vile*. And you look at the names of the editors and you will see Epstein, Greenberg, Feinberg—

I don’t know whether Hefner is Jewish—

Well, *Playboy* has a little bit more art to it than the filthy ones. ■

Luther Coon.” He went around to Ivy League campuses like some anti-Semitic Lenny Bruce; the routine was shocking, and listening to it tested one’s commitment to free speech.

Rockwell honestly believed people would flock to his banner. This expectation was deluded but perhaps not altogether unreasonable: Amidst the civil rights movement, his provocations were at least potentially appealing to racists who didn’t have an organization. Even so, his newspaper never had a subscription base of more than a couple thousand copies. The core of party membership numbered in the dozens. Whenever a stunt got newspaper coverage, though, envelopes would come pouring in, each with a dollar or two, so Rockwell could pay some alimony and crank out a new leaflet.

“When I agitate in uniform,” Rockwell wrote, “I want people to hate me. I want them emotionally worked up.” Finding themselves baited, Jewish organizations had a difficult time agreeing on a common policy toward the American Nazis. Particularly reluctant to ignore the stormtrooper-wannabes was an organization called the Jewish War Veterans—who, for understandable reasons, *really* wanted to kick Rockwell’s ass. When their counter-demonstration turned into a violent melee, it made national headlines. Which was a publicity coup for Rockwell (who hid during the fighting).

Simonelli documents how the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai Brith eventually imposed a “quarantine” on the Nazis—discouraging both confrontation and media coverage. This was a controversial policy, and difficult to sustain, but it worked. The flood of publicity became a trickle. So did the donations.

There would be occasional moments of renewed notoriety—as when Rockwell surfaced in Chicago during the back-

lash against the Rev. King’s visit in 1966. But the dream of gathering masses of Aryan-Americans beneath the swastika faded. The movement’s energies turned inward. Besides helping to build international connections among those preserving the flame of the Third Reich, Rockwell began to rethink strategy. Although he remained devoted to Hitler, Rockwell saw that mimicking the German model would not be sufficient.

By the time he ran for governor of Virginia in 1964, he was concentrating on anti-black racism. (Meanwhile, he established friendly relations with Elijah Muhammad’s Nation of Islam—on the grounds of their shared contempt for integration, liberalism and the Jews.) He decided that the traditional emphasis on the Nordic master race was a liability. Instead, a reborn ultra-right would need to unite around the slogan of “White Power,” which might appeal to those of non-Teutonic origins. He wanted to replace the swastika with an American eagle as the party’s emblem.

In short, Rockwell tried to “mainstream” Nazism as much as possible.

And that may have been what killed him. When Rockwell was shot down outside a laundromat in 1967, the alleged gunman was a former supporter with a complicated history of personal complaints against the Nazi leader. Although this suspect was convicted and did time, there are various odd holes in the case against him. A persistent rumor holds that Rockwell was assassinated by a faction in his party, upset at the changes being introduced. They may have decided it was time for Rockwell to serve the movement in a new capacity—as martyr.

Simonelli draws no conclusions in the matter, which seems wise. To untangle the motivations of people in this corner of the twilight zone is the work of a psychiatrist, not a historian. *American Fuhrer* sticks to the facts of Rockwell’s career—which is no less menacing for its elements of preposterousness. You put the book down with a sense that “the Commander” was ahead of his time: He was a shock jock, born too soon. Today he would have his own drive-time program and a chance at elected office. The campout’s not over on Hatemonger Hill. ■



From **Picturing Power: Posters of China’s Cultural Revolution**, on exhibit at Indiana University’s School of Fine Arts Gallery until Oct. 3.

Flee Enterprise

By Phyllis Eckhaus

How fortuitous that George Washington failed in his efforts to drain the Great Dismal Swamp, the vast marshland on the Virginia-North Carolina border. Decades later, the swamp served as an inhospitable home to several thousand runaway slaves. They would emerge at night like landlubber pirates, to make raids upon nearby farms and plantations, plundering food, clothing and livestock.

The maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp were but the most conspicuous example of slave intransigence. In *Runaway Slaves*, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger document that while few runaways permanently escaped bondage, they constituted an ongoing threat to the peculiar institution. Large plantation owners faced absenteeism and repeat escapes by field hands. And for the small-time slaveowner—who might hold title to a single slave mortgaged to the bank and hired out for profit—slave escape could spell financial ruin.

Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation

By John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger
Oxford University Press
455 pages, \$35

Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery

By William Craft and Ellen Craft
University of Georgia Press
112 pages, \$12

Drawing primarily on court records, *Runaway Slaves* portrays the human tragedy of slavery. We learn that when the runaway Little Charles was caught breaking into Isham Fox's nearby meat house, he was chained and cuffed, "whipped all night" and then forced "to drag his lacerated body" from the plantation to Baton Rouge before dying. Of course, we learn this not because anyone cared about Little Charles while he was alive, but because his master sued Isham Fox for damages after Little Charles' death.



Osman, a fugitive slave found living in the Great Dismal Swamp in 1856.

As if performing a sacrament, Franklin and Schweninger reverently commemorate scores of Little Charleses by recording the few details preserved by legal documents and runaway advertisements: The New Orleans mulatto runaway Catherine was small with "tolerable straight hair," the Virginia slave Archie was branded on both cheeks. Such particulars, scanty and impersonal, can't convey individual lives. Yet by repetitive and relentless example, *Runaway Slaves* gathers force: The book is monumental in impact. *Runaway Slaves* surveys why runaways left, where they went, how they survived on the run, and how they were hunted and punished. What emerges is a picture of powerful human resistance—and of a political and economic system rotten to the core.

By the time of the Civil War, the slave population had peaked at 4 million, one-seventh of the total U.S. population. The authors conservatively estimate there were 50,000 runaways a year, most of them young men in their teens or twenties. Massive legal machinery was employed to keep runaways in check. Slaveowning states passed elaborate laws to facilitate capture and weigh

competing claims to human property. Tennessee was typical, covering runaways in 61 of the 131 sections of its slave code and painstakingly specifying how and when runaways were to be jailed, advertised, hired, employed, redeemed, returned and sold. Legislatures debated the efficacy of summarily executing slaves on the run, a proposal that North Carolina rejected as an "unnecessarily cruel" measure that would "render slave property insecure and subsequently diminish its value."

Capturing runaways was a profitable county business—and a "runaway" was any person of color who could not prove that he or she was free. Upon capture, the runaway would be jailed at county expense and advertised. Runaways unclaimed for a year were auctioned off; owners claiming runaways were obliged to reimburse the county, the judge and the slavecatcher. Either way, the county made out.

Because slavery provides the most perverse example of the profit motive gone awry, *Runaway Slaves* doubles as a bizarre window on capitalism. Under slavery, free blacks were walking financial windfalls rather than human beings, tempting targets for enslavement. Free blacks could be kidnapped and auctioned off as runaways with little recourse, as blacks could not testify against whites. Free blacks who owed the county could suddenly become slaves and county property; 27 black men were on the 1847 inventory of Prince Edward County, Va., as "free Negroes to be Sold for taxes." Free blacks who could not support themselves or who were convicted of petty theft were subject to enslavement.

Perhaps most chilling, manumitted slaves who did not leave town soon enough (usually within six to 12 months) automatically forfeited their liberty; the Missouri Senate contemplated a law that would have given freed slaves a mere 24 hours to leave the state. The restrictions on free blacks made a mockery of their supposed freedom and dramatically curtailed their mobility. Dependent on whites to vouchsafe their status, move-

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ment beyond familiar neighborhoods put them at risk. Franklin and Schweninger tell of a freeman who sought to visit his slave sister in Virginia in 1842; three times captured and jailed as a runaway, it took him 15 months to return home to Ohio.

Runaway Slaves doesn't dwell on the Kafka-esque consequences of slavery. But *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom*, a slender narrative account by the runaway slave couple William and Ellen Craft first published in 1860, explicitly challenges the reader to recognize the capricious, capacious brutality of the system: "Every colored person's complexion is *prima facie* evidence of his being a slave," they wrote.

The Crafts succeeded in their daring 1849 escape because they turned the presumed immutability of race and gender to their advantage; Ellen, a seemingly white quadroon, dressed as a man and posed as William's young gentleman master as they ran from Georgia to Philadelphia. Settling in abolitionist Boston, they were pursued by slavecatchers authorized by President Fillmore and compelled to flee once more; the Crafts could not truly breathe free until they anchored in England in 1850.

Running, narrated by William, is powerful propaganda, rife with details designed to disturb the complacent. Whiteness is no protection, William suggested, when race is less a descriptive construct than an instrument of inequity. Ellen's very whiteness was initially a danger to her; her mistress was her white half-sister, who deeply resented the close resemblance that led others to "mistake" Ellen as a family member. Racism is a force so inherently destructive that once unleashed, William implied, no one is safe. He lingered over the story of Salomé Muller, a white girl kidnapped and kept as an allegedly mulatto slave for 25 years, until discovered by a family friend who could attest to her lineage.

With radical clarity, the Crafts tackled slavery, condemning the institution itself rather than the treatment of



Margaret Garner killed two of her children rather than see them returned to bondage. She then drowned herself in the Ohio River.

slaves. William wrote: "I have not dwelt upon the great barbarities which are practiced upon the slaves; because I wish to present the system in its mildest form, and to show that the 'tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' " When, in 1852, Ellen was rumored to have happily returned to bondage in America, she published a vehement transatlantic denial, declaring, "I had much rather starve in England, a free woman, than be a slave for the best man that ever breathed upon the American continent."

Yet the defenders of slavery insisted that except for the unfortunate excesses of a few overzealous masters and overseers, slavery was good for slaves. As a Southern lady explained to Ellen in her white gentleman guise, "It always seems to me such a cruel thing to turn niggers loose to shift for themselves when there are so many good masters to take care of them." *Runaway Slaves* documents the widespread claim that runaways absconded "without any provocation." As one bewildered master asked in 1777, "Poor Ignorant Devils, for what do they run away? They are well clothed, work easy, and have all kinds of Plantation produce at no allowance." A New Orleans physician, Dr. Samuel Cartwright, hypothesized that runaways suffered from a special form of mental illness, which he named "drapetomania." Cartwright offered a two-pronged prescription for this disease: Owners should first provide adequate food, housing and fuel and then, should the illness persist, whip slaves until they fall "into that submissive state which it was intended for them to occupy in all aftertime."

HARPER'S WEEKLY

Cartwright's prescription illustrates how readily a proper slaveowning Dr. Jekyll morphed into a socially sanctioned, monstrous Mr. Hyde. Like a cuckolded husband, slave society could respond to runaways with uncontrolled rage, hunting them down with mobs of armed vigilantes and packs of vicious dogs. William Craft observed that "nothing seems to give the slaveholders so much pleasure as the catching and torturing of fugitives. ... The greatest excitement prevails at a slave-hunt."

Yankees were complicit in rationalizing and sustaining the slave system. The Crafts were especially incensed at the slew of eminent Northern ministers who took to their pulpits to defend the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the federal measure that appeased the South by criminalizing aid to fugitives, putting federal marshals at slavecatchers' disposal and providing financial incentives to those who captured blacks and determined them to be slaves. Typical was Boston's Rev. W. M. Rogers, who preached that to stand between master and slave would be "to murder a nation's life; and I will not do it, because I have a conscience,—because there is a God."

Repelled by use of state power to subvert human liberty, Henry David Thoreau was moved to declare, "I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as my government which is the *slave's* government also."

From the vantage point of the late 20th century, we may believe we would emulate Thoreau's principled disavowal of state-sponsored tyranny, but his contemporaries dismissed Thoreau as a crank. Those who profited from slavery had the state and the church behind them; those who did not profit were lulled by authority into easy acquiescence.

Would we know better? "The Americans, as a people, are notoriously mean and cruel towards all coloured people, whether they are bond or free," William Craft observed from the safety of England. There are unnerving parallels between the slave system of antebellum America and the criminal justice system of today. Even the seemingly surreal laws filching freedom from free blacks have

their modern analogue: Today's use of "racial profiling" makes every person of color a target for abuse and imprisonment.

Of the 4 million people enslaved in America in 1860, many had some measure of physical autonomy. Can the same be said of the more than 1 million people—two-thirds of them black or Hispanic—now in U.S. prisons? Inmates provide the virtual equivalent of slave labor. For example, in the Aug. 15 *Orlando Sentinel*, reporter Jeff Kunerth describes the not atypical prison town of Lake Butler, Fla., where "inmate labor essentially doubles the

town's municipal work force." The town manager feared that the best brick mason might be paroled before completing work on the town's former courthouse: "I told this boy, 'If you don't finish this building, you ain't leaving.'"

Is it eerie coincidence that the average runaway slave was a black man under 30—and that black men under 30 constitute the favored foil of modern American law enforcement? Read these books, but do not mistake them for mere history. They are calls to conscience. ■

Phyllis Eckhaus is a writer in New York.

The Corporate Gallery

By J.D. Smith

Corporate America loves modern art. Love, in this instance, is metaphorical. The corporation, a legally reified abstraction, lacks the consciousness and therefore the volition to love, but corporate America, like a golem or a machine that has passed the Turing Test, acts as if it loved modern art. The lobbies of office parks (coeval with that other oxymoron, the gated community) and the walls enclosing cubicle farms are adorned with frames. To drink from a water fountain is often to bow before a work of modern art.

The reasons for this situation are not immediately apparent. Businesses are in the business of business, and that business is seldom art. That the works displayed are primarily those produced after 1900 raises additional questions. The critical dust often has yet to settle. This setting has already revealed the contours of previous ages so that, as one economist has stated, we consume the cultural products of the past more efficiently than those of the present.

The "works" displayed are overwhelmingly prints. Insurers and stockholders would rightfully object to large-scale acquisitions of originals.

Yet while prints represent only a modest expense, prints of modern works are likely to cost more than those of older works in the public domain.

If costs alone do not determine corporate art purchases, and chance is set aside, something else must be at work. It would be easier to display no art at all—in any occupation there are those who, like designer Philippe Starck, prefer "complete nothingness in which to create." Putting something on the walls is a convention of interior design, but most employees would not clamor for Kandinsky or Braque. Few have enjoyed the luxury of learning the only recently necessary skill of "art appreciation."

The basis of corporate aesthetics can be inferred from the works displayed, a narrow sample of modern art's possibilities. Corporate collections emphasize

straightforward execution, a few strokes and shapes taken in at a glance; investigations of light and *trompe l'oeil* techniques have no place. By the same bent token, an Escher will not adorn a reception area, but a Mondrian may. Colors aside, Mondrian is the spiritual forebear of cubicles and spreadsheets. His reductions of image to a flat assemblage of

surfaces demand little of the viewer and are, in their own tepid way, ultimately decorative.

Decoration alone is not at issue. Frank Stella's exuberantly decorative abstractions rarely adorn corporate walls. Georgia O'Keeffe's intensively drafted, uterine still lifes are likewise scarce. Both artists' works compel attention and prolonged viewing. They, no less than improper lifting technique, waste man-hours and lower productivity.

Surrealism is similarly absent; it takes time to figure out why those clocks might be drooping. Futurism, what there was of it, is also out of bounds. The future portrayed by that school has arrived, and it doesn't look much like the paintings. Comparing and contrasting takes time.

Landscapes, on the other hand, appear frequently. Their scenes are quickly taken in and classified as field, forest, mountain or seashore. All faintly address the lack of fenestration that plagues "big box" office buildings.

Corporate art as a genre or a school of curatorship, however, is defined mainly by the absence of portraiture. A figure may mark a landscape with a measure of scale, like a single name on an organizational chart, or an office might showcase one of Keith Haring's hollow Michelin Men. Conspicuously missing from these displays, though, is close observation of the human face. No heiress to the Mona Lisa or Vermeer's girl with the earring projects herself into the workplace; no heirs of the Blue Boy, Los Borrachos or Saint Martin and the beggar.

Granted, the strength of 20th century art does not lie in portraiture. The conventions of portraiture itself have perhaps been subsumed by photography, or abandoned as exhausted, too beholden to moneyed elites. Or the spirit of the age may simply not prove congenial to portraying the individual as an end in himself rather than an archetype or design element. Perhaps, as Don DeLillo claimed at the end of *Mao II*, "The future belongs to crowds."

The corporate gallery is a proclamation of that future rather than an appeal to the viewer, who finds nothing familiar within the frame. The only mirrors are in the bathrooms. ■

J.D. Smith is a writer in Chicago.



Piet Mondrian, *Composition* (1927).

In These Times Marketplace

Products • Services • Organizations • Magazines

Reach In These Times readers with Marketplace. For rates, call Patricia Gray at 773-772-0100, x236.

Reality Tours

Go beyond the tourist experience. Learn about grass-roots movements and human rights all over the world, every month, every year. Meet the people behind the scenes in Cuba, Mexico, South

Africa, Israel/Palestine, Haiti, Brazil, Ireland and Guatemala.

For a free brochure, call us at 1-800-497-1994

or visit our Web site at www.globalexchange.org



Sierra Magazine

Get that *Sierra* attitude! John Muir had it right when he said, "To know the importance of the outdoors, you must experience it for yourself." The Sierra Club's award-winning bimonthly magazine has had it for more than 100 years as the voice of America's premier grass-roots environmental activist organization. And you'll have it when you start reading *Sierra*.

Six issues/\$15.00 (15% discount off the newsstand cover price). Call 1-800-765-7904



Earth Tones

The only long distance phone service to give 100% of its profits to environmental campaigns.

Founded and wholly owned by nonprofit groups, **Earth Tones** prints bills on recycled paper with detailed monthly Green Alert updates. Free calls to Congress. Low, simple rates for residential, business and calling card service. Satisfaction guaranteed.

For a free brochure, call 1-888-EARTH TONES (888-327-8486) or visit www.essential.org/earth_tones



La Cocina Cubana Sencilla

Simple Cuban Cooking by Paul L. Adams, M.D.

A new cookbook and family memoir by a life-long socialist brings you 222 delicious Cuban recipes. Paul Adams, an academic child psychiatrist, displays in this beautiful book his love for Cuba, for progressive ideas and causes, and for the welfare of all the earth's children.

Send \$22.50 in check or money order (including shipping and handling) to: Paul L. Adams 1207 Summit Avenue Louisville, KY 40204



American Anti-Vivisection Society

AAVS has been working to secure the rights of laboratory animals for more than 115 years. Find out how you can help. Call (800) SAY-AAVS or visit www.aavs.org, and we will send you a free cruelty-free shopping guide.

ending the use of animals in science



The Bear Deluxe Magazine

Environmental Writing and Visual Art

Put the Bear back in your galaxy. Special Sci-Fi theme issue of **The Bear Deluxe** coming out this November. Discover the award-winning quarterly magazine, and you'll never turn back to the same old stuff. Journalism, news, fiction, poetry and visual art—**The Bear Deluxe** has it all. And so can you.

Four issues/\$16.00
Sample copy: \$3
Send check or money order to
The Bear Deluxe Magazine
P.O. Box 10342
Portland, OR 97296
or call us at (503) 242-1047

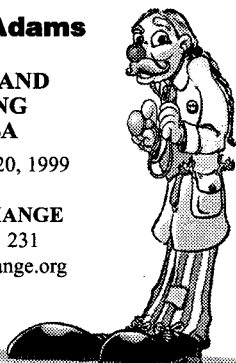


Join the real Dr. Patch Adams

on a study tour of
HEALTH AND HEALING in CUBA

December 10-20, 1999

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
415-255-7296 ext. 231
pam@globalexchange.org



E Magazine

The award-winning, nonprofit environmental magazine, chock-full of information, news and commentary on the growing movement to protect and restore our imperiled planet. Covering issues from rainforests to recycling, and from the "personal to the political," **E Magazine's** what-to-do emphasis will enlighten and inspire you.

Subscriptions are \$20/year for six issues. Visit our website at www.emagazine.com



Cats & Peace

Steer your way through the new year with the **2000 CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB wall calendar**. Cover cat Violet and twelve other fascinating felines welcome you to the new millennium.

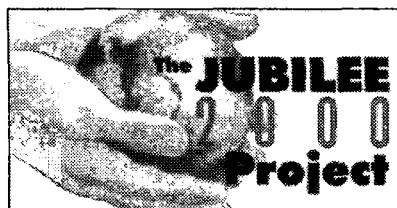


With daily information on cat history and peace activities of the past, plus dates of importance in the struggle for human rights and equality.

US \$7.95 plus US \$1.25 shipping.
Nebraskans for Peace: (402) 475-4620
PO Box 83466
Lincoln, NE 68501
website: <http://expage.com/page/CLAB>

**Is this the end?
Or is it just the beginning?**

www.jubilee2000.org



Earth Island Journal

Get the whole picture! "*Earth Island Journal* is unparalleled in its ability to illuminate ecological dimensions of contemporary science, politics and culture."—*Utne Reader*

"The liveliest magazine covering the environment."—*In These Times*

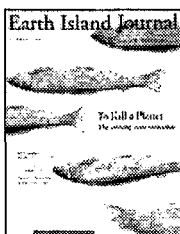
International reporting, tips for activist-readers.

Published by David Brower's Earth Island Institute, your membership supports over 30 critical environmental projects.

Special offer!

First year (4 issues) \$15
(415) 788-3666

www.earthisland.org



Dollars & Sense: What's Left in Economics

The economy is too important to be left in the hands of "experts" and politicians. Economic decisions, whether global or local, directly impact where you work, how you live, and what you eat, drink, and breathe. That's why *Dollars & Sense* tackles economic issues in plain English, digging beneath conventional wisdom, describing real-life problems, and pointing out concrete alternatives.

Six issues/\$18.95

Call 1-888-736-7377

D&S, One Summer St.,
Somerville, MA 02143

www.dollarsandsense.org



Visit the Archives of
**Albert and Vera
Weisbord,**
leading radicals
of the '30s.

www.weisbord.org

Classifieds

HELP WANTED

ILLINOIS PEACE ACTION, the state's largest grassroots peace and disarmament group seeks an EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, responsible for all organizational and programmatic functions of IPA. Successful candidate will have organizing experience, strong fundraising skills, and commitment to peace and justice. Salary negotiable. Benefits. Send résumé, writing sample, and cover letter to: Search Committee, Illinois Peace Action, 202 S. State St., Suite 1500, Chicago, IL 60604. No calls. AA/EEO.

INTERNS WANTED. If you have a strong interest in progressive politics and independent publishing and can work at least two days a week, why not volunteer at IN THESE TIMES? Help with fact-checking, article research, proofreading and updating our Web site. Applicants can contact news editor Kristin Kolb at kolb@inthesetimes.com.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: Community Jobs, 1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste. 838, Wash., DC 20036.

PUBLICATIONS

IN THESE TIMES BACK ISSUES—Did you miss a recent issue? Don't worry. Back issues of ITT are available for just \$3 each in the U.S.; \$5 each overseas. Send check

or money order to *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

CALENDARS

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB 2000 wall calendar, \$7.95 + \$1.25 postage. An inexpensive holiday gift for your feline-loving friends. Order from: NFP/CLAB, PO Box 83466, Lincoln, NE 68501, or call (402) 475-4620. VISA/MC accepted. E-mail: catcal@aol.com.

CARDS

PEACE and JUSTICE CARDS, union label, 4x6, 12 different cards, \$3. Peace and Justice Cards, P.O. Box 234, Chaska, MN 55318.

TOUR GUIDE

RADICAL HISTORY Walking Tours of N.Y.C. See sites connected to Malcolm X, John Reed, the Rosenbergs, Emma Goldman and more. Call (718) 492-0069 for schedule.

GRANTS

GRANTS \$500-\$5000 to INDIVIDUAL WOMEN AGE 54+ for projects in any field that enrich and empower the lives of adult women. Write for instructions (include SASE). The Thanks Be To Grandmother Winifred Foundation/ITT, PO Box 1449, Wainscott, NY 11975.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles who
care about peace, social justice,
gender equity, racism and the environment.

Nationwide. Since 1984. All ages.

FREE SAMPLE: Box 444-IT.

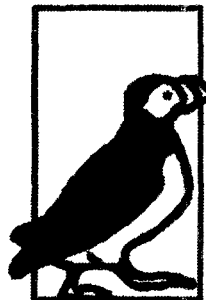
Lenox Dale, MA 01242,

(413) 445-6309;

or at <http://www.concernedsingles.com>

Puffin Foundation Ltd. Annual Grant Search

The Puffin Foundation encourages a continuing dialogue between "...art and the lives of ordinary people." We are resolute in our support of those artists whose work, due to their genre and/or social philosophy, might have difficulty in being aired. We especially encourage new artists to apply for a grant.



Grants are made in all fields of the creative arts, including dance, theater, documentary, photography, fine arts, etc...

Applicants may apply for a year 2000 grant prior to Dec. 31, 1999. Average grant awards range between \$500 to \$2,500.

For applications, write to: The Puffin Foundation Ltd.
Department I
20 East Oakdene Avenue
Teaneck, NJ 07666

T-SHIRTS!

By artists from
World War 3 Illustrated

Explosive artwork from
Eric Drooker, FLY, Sabrina
Jones, Lawrence Van Abbema
& Peter Kuper

Call 888-732-3488, ext.239
for a free catalogue

All shirts \$12, 3 for \$10 each



Prometheus!



Shirt F, by Peter Kuper

MO—21st Annual Paper in Particular National Juried Competition

Works on/of paper.

Juror: Donald Roberts.

Slides Deadline: Nov. 16, 1999

Accepted works deadline:

Jan. 22, 2000.

Open to USA artists.

Medium—on/of paper.

\$15 entry fee.

Limited to three 35 mm slides.

Award—one-person show at

Columbia College. Contact:

Ed Collings, Paper In Particular,

Columbia College,

1001 Rogers, Columbia, MO 65216.

Ph. (573) 875-7521.

Or visit our website at

www.colmo.com

Weekly News Update on the Americas

"Indispensable for keeping up
on Latin American events."

—Allan Nairn. Free trial.

339 Lafayette, NY, NY,

10012, 212-674-9499.

wnu@igc.org

NUKES IN SPACE 2 UNACCEPTABLE RISKS

Karl Grossman's new video exposes NASA's
dangerous, irresponsible use of plutonium and the
Pentagon's new plans for weapons in space

\$21.95

1-800-ECO-TV46



**Read The
Progressive
Populist**

A Journal from the Heartland
with alternative news and
views from Jim Hightower,
Molly Ivins, Ralph Nader,
Jesse Jackson, other muckrak-
ers, agitators and the best of
the nation's alternative press.
... An antidote for your daily
news. ... Deflating pompous
plutocrats since 1995.

Only \$29.95 for 22 issues.

**For a free sample copy, call
toll-free 1-800-205-7067**

or see www.populist.com

ABRAHAM LINCOLN wanted you to
have **MORE MONEY** in your purse.

Is your take-home pay okay?

Eye-opening 17pg "ABE'S JUST

CURRENCY," \$1.00/one stamp,

POB 2492(t), Laguna Hills, CA

92654-2492.

JEWISH CURRENTS

October 1999 issue

"Recollecting Isaac Bashevis
Singer," Jeffrey Sussman; "The
Absolute Truth," Roberta Gordon
Silver; "Sticks and Stones," Ruth
Guthartz; "Songs of Love and
Struggle," Leo Summergrad.

Single issue: \$3 (USA).

Subscription: \$30 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS

Dept. T, Suite 601,

22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

**IN THESE
TIMES**
classified ads
work like your own sales
force.

WORD RATES:

95c per word / 1-2 issues

85c per word / 3-5 issues

80c per word / 6-9 issues

75c per word / 10-19 issues

65c per word / 20 + issues

DISPLAY INCH RATES:

\$30 per inch / 1-2 issues

\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues

\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues

\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues

\$22 per inch / 20 + issues

Thomas Paine

VIDEOCASSETTE

This educational, "very informative," and "fascinating" 40-minute video,
written and hosted by Thomas Paine Scholar Carl Shapiro, was telecast via
cable TV throughout northern New Jersey in the spring of 1992. In this origi-
nal, unedited video, the essential meaning of Paine's extraordinary career as
revolutionary writer and foremost exponent of democratic principles is
recounted in a presentation "sure in its content" and clear in its delivery. A
discussion of little-known but significant incidents in Paine's life adds
immeasurably to this memorable video.

VHS cassette, \$25.00 ppd. (USA)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS, P.O. BOX 102, RIDGEFIELD, NJ 07657

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon and payment to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

Or FAX your ad with VISA or Mastercard number to 773-772-4180.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ for _____ issue(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Continued from page 30

responsibility on the social context. And that's a very not usual way of seeing it.

It's usual for you, isn't it? It's a very usual thing for you to say.

Yes, but then you have to find new ways to say it. You can't end every film with a fist in the air, otherwise everything becomes very two-dimensional. The point is to find new stories.



The Spanish Civil War revisited.

I don't think any of your films have ended with a fist in the air, have they?

The one about the Spanish Civil War.

But it didn't end with the people winning. I don't think any of your films have ended with the people triumphing.

In *Riff-Raff* they set the building in flames. In *Raining Stones* he got away with it.

But in Land and Freedom fascism wins.

Yes, but then the ideas carry on. The film is about the continuity of the struggle, isn't it? You can't change history; you can't say, in the Spanish Civil War, the fascists didn't win. False revolutionary optimism is something that trips up left groups, isn't it? You know, tomorrow the revolution will happen.

Did Land and Freedom come under criticism from Communist Party types here? I believe that in some showings in the United States some 85-year-old veterans got up and denounced the film.

Well, that's all right. You want to set the accounts straight on what Stalin did, but not blame those old guys who put themselves on the line. They were brave when they were kids and the last thing you want to do is to attack them, because they were the heroes of their generation. It's just that they had so much emotional investment. They're the last people to see it objectively, because their lives have been lived on the basis of what they did.

Do you have any idea why American filmgoers and filmmakers are so enamored of everything British these days? Elizabeth, Shakespeare in Love ...

A lot of it is part of the tourist industry. You don't have to go

to Stratford-on-Avon—you can just go watch *Shakespeare in Love* and it's the same kind of feeling, that you're getting high art without any pain. The guys are walking about in funny trousers and the ladies are in long frocks, and they all write with feathers. So there's somehow a sense that you're taking part in a great cultural experience. While in fact it's just the frocks are the same.

It's like the way the British enjoy French films, because it reminds them of their holidays. They can still smell the Gauloises and taste the red wine, and the language sounds the

same, and you have the sense of going abroad. I think it's the same thing, really. A lot of it is kitsch, really sort of pretend art.

I look at the movie marquees here in London and I see all these American films.

America has penetrated and dominated our culture so totally that if you don't think about it, it seems very natural.

Do American films crowd out your films?

They crowd out everybody's films. It's a classic case of cultural imperialism. In trying to set up this film in the States—it's more difficult to make a European film in the States than anywhere in the world because they're so protectionist. Chomsky has made the point many

times that the United States is very protectionist when it chooses to be and proclaims a free market when it really can win. For people to go and work there, it's very, very restrictive.

What films do you like besides your own?

I'm not that fond of mine. I'd rather watch the football. I don't go to the cinema that much. In film you usually know what the end is going to be, but you don't know whether you're going to get victory or defeat in football. ■

Ken Loach films of the '90s

Hidden Agenda (1990)

In Northern Ireland a human rights activist and a lawyer uncover the murder of an IRA sympathizer by the police.

Riff-Raff (1991)

Construction workers deal with the cruelties of life under Thatcher.

Raining Stones (1993)

An unemployed bloke tries to raise money for his daughter's first communion dress.

Ladybird Ladybird (1994)

A poor single mother sees her children taken away, one by one, by welfare agencies.

Land and Freedom (1995)

An unemployed Liverpool worker and Communist Party member joins the POUM militia in revolutionary Spain, 1936.

Carla's Song (1996)

A Glasgow bus driver meets a Nicaraguan refugee and takes her home to confront her past.

My Name Is Joe (1998)

A recovering alcoholic coaches a football team made up of Glasgow's rejects, falls in love and confronts the casualties of heroin.

Available from IN THESE TIMES

Corporate Media and the Threat to Democracy

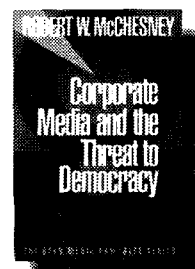
By Robert W. McChesney

"McChesney's work has been of extraordinary importance. ... It should be read with care and concern by people who care about freedom and basic rights."

—Noam Chomsky

\$4.95, plus \$2.50 for shipping and handling.

Order from: In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647



LONDON

It's disconcerting at first to watch a Ken Loach movie. We're so accustomed to disappointment when filmmakers tackle political themes that to see left politics on the screen is a shock. Even when TV tries to do the "corporate villain vs. noble struggling townsfolk" storyline, the characters don't resemble any struggling townsfolk you know. Almost no movie deals with actual members of the left, which is officially invisible in the United States.

With a movie by Loach, however, you get an unembarrassed pro-working-class point of view, connected to solid human beings; sometimes the characters are activists themselves. So at times, the people in Loach's films actually have political conversations. One example is a meeting of peasants and militia in *Land and Freedom*, Loach's take on the Spanish Civil War. Think about it—when has a movie meeting consisted of more than a few speeches? Loach's revolutionaries discuss for 12 minutes—an eon in movie time—whether to collectivize a rich man's captured land. Loach trusts the audience to sit still for politics. "Political people do talk like that," Loach says. "Why shouldn't the cinema deal with people who are passionate about politics and trying to do something about it?"

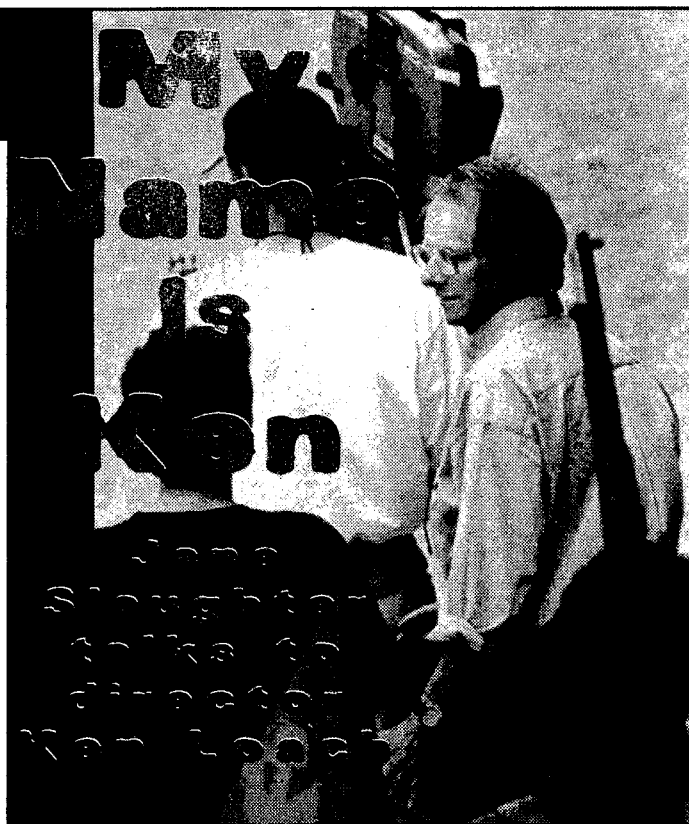
Loach's latest two films are *Carla's Song*, about a Glasgow bus driver who falls in love with a Nicaraguan refugee, and *My Name Is Joe*, about Glasgow's hopeless unemployed. He has just started shooting his first film set in America. In a coffee shop near his tiny London headquarters, I spoke with Loach about the new project.

What's the new picture about?

The film is about a Mexican girl who comes up to Los Angeles to join her sister and gets work in an office building which is nonunion. The Justice for Janitors campaign is going on, and it's about the attempt to get the building unionized. It's about the sisters and about the relationships within that group.

It's not set in 1990, when the famous Justice for Janitors campaign was; it's set now. Otherwise you've got to change all the cars, you have to change lots of things, and we wouldn't have enough money for that.

That campaign was interesting because they reached out beyond the normal union members, and they got community people involved and had a really wide base of support. These are immigrants, often illegal, they don't speak English, and you feel if you can organize people like that, you can organize anybody, yeah? Which is the attraction of doing this film.



Why did you decide to set a film in America? Last time we talked you said you didn't really think of the United States as your audience. You're much more focused on Europe.

I generally haven't got much of an audience in the States, really. Although I think Joe didn't go too badly. But the distributors have a fairly unambitious idea of how to distribute. They have a very nice poster, but I saw more of them in their office than out. It stayed a well-kept secret.

Now if only Miramax would buy your films and use its money to promote them properly ...

But then they have to feel they have a product they can sell in the way they want to sell it. So I don't think it's simply a question of them putting money into promotion. It's having a product that fits the escapist idea.

Say in *Joe*. The conventional wisdom is that you can transcend your circumstances. Bourgeois morality is, "I got out, you can get out." So the whole point of our film is to say that circumstances dictate who you become, how you live, and how you make your personal relationships. The point is to wake up and your own personal blame to place

Continued on page 29



Fighting for Labor Freedom.

how you live, and how you make your personal relationships. The point is to wake up and your own personal blame to place